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PREFACE.

THESE "Lives of Illustrious Greeks" are selected from Plutarch's Parallel Lives in Greek, omitting some digressions, which would be neither profitable nor interesting to the reader, and substituting for them such reflections as Plutarch might have made if he had been a Christian. The volume is intended as a companion to the HISTORY OF GREECE for Schools and Families, and it is offered to instructors as an attempt to depict the vivid scenes of Grecian Life, unaccompanied by the errors of heathenism, and mingled with such thoughts as have been suggested by the study of them to one who is himself a parent, and also a teacher of the young.

LIVES OF ILLUSTRIOUS GREEKS.

LIFE OF THESEUS.

B. C. 1228.

1. THE descent of Theseus is traced, on his father's side, to Erechtheus and the first inhabitants of Greece, and, on his mother's side, to Pelops.

2. Pelops was superior to the other kings of Peloponnesia, not only in wealth, but in the number of his children: his daughters were married to the principal men, and his sons became the chiefs of several states. One of the sons of Pelops, Pittheus, who was the grandfather of Theseus, founded the small state of Trœzen, and excelled all his neighbours in his reputation for learning and wisdom.

3. Æthra, daughter of Pittheus, was married to Ægeus, of Athens, who had repaired to Trœzen to consult Pittheus on the answer he had received to his inquiry respecting his having children, from the oracle at Delphi. Before his return to Athens, Ægeus hid his sword and his sandals under a large stone, telling the princess that if she brought forth a son, as soon as he was strong enough to remove the stone and take away the deposit, she was to send him, as privately as possible, with these tokens to Athens. This secrecy was occasioned by his fear of the Pallantides, the sons of his father's brother, who despised Ægeus because he was childless, and who were plotting against his life.

4. The child of Æthra was a son named THESEUS, whom Pittheus brought up, placing him under the instructions of Connidas. According to the custom of the country, Theseus went, as soon as he passed the age of boyhood, to offer the first locks of his hair to Apollo at Delphi. . . . . Pittheus reported that Theseus was the son of Neptune, the guardian deity of the Trœzenians. The

youth distinguished himself by great strength of body, and, also, by great fortitude and intelligence. His mother took him to the stone which Ægeus had mentioned: there she told him the secret of his birth, and desired him to take up the tokens, and sail to Athens. Theseus refused to go to Athens by sea though strongly urged, not only by his mother, but also by his grandfather, who told him of the dangers of travelling to Athens by land, because of the number and fierceness of the robbers by whom the country was infested. Theseus had listened to the tales of the deeds of Hercules, till his imagination was fired with the ambition of following his example. He looked on the voyage by sea as a flight from danger, unworthy of both his reputed and his real parentage; and he, therefore, determined to proceed to Athens by land, injuring no man, but punishing any who attacked him.

5. After leaving Trœzen, his first encounter was in Epidauria, on the border of the Saronic gulf, where he was assailed by Periphetes, named Corynetes, the club-bearer. Theseus slew the robber, carrying away the club—as Hercules did the lion's-skin—in token of his victory.

6. In the isthmus of Corinth, he fell in with Sinnis, the Pine-bender, who was accustomed to destroy travellers by fixing them to the opposite branches of bended pines, which, in suddenly flying back, tore them to pieces. Theseus destroyed this savage in the same manner. Perigone, the beautiful daughter of Sinnis, had hid herself when her father was killed. Theseus found her in a retreat overgrown with rushes and wild asparagus, praying with childish simplicity to the plants, and promising that if they would hide her in safety, she would never pluck or burn them. When she heard the voice of Theseus, who pledged his faith that he would treat her honourably, she approached him without fear, and became his wife. The Ioxides, their descendants, planted a colony in Caria, where they made a point of never burning rushes or wild asparagus, but treated them with honour and veneration.

7. At Crommyon, in the Corinthian territory, there was a sow, called Phæa, a beast not to be despised, for she was exceedingly fierce, and not to be easily overcome. Theseus slew this dreadful brute, believing that a brave man ought

to destroy formidable animals, as well as to defend himself from wicked men. Some report that Phæa was the name of a female robber.

8. Near the frontier of Megara and Attica, Theseus cast Sciron into the sea from a rocky precipice, because, according to the prevailing opinion, Sciron had in this manner destroyed travellers who passed that way; or, according to others, because he had, with insufferable arrogance and pride, presented his feet to strangers, commanding them to wash them, and while they were in the act, pushed them over the rocks. The historians of Megara, it is true, oppose this tradition, and contradicting, says Simonides, all antiquity, maintain that Sciron was not a robber, but an enemy to such persons, and the friend of the good and just. The same historian adds, that Theseus did not kill Sciron till long after. Such are the contradictions to be found in this history.

9. In passing by Eleusis, Theseus wrestled with Corcyron, the Arcadian, and overthrew him. From thence he went to Hermione. There he slew the giant Damastes, who was called Procrustes, because he put any stranger who fell in his way on a bed which was either too long or too short: if it were too long, he cut off the limbs; if it were too short, he stretched the body by the force of a machine. Theseus destroyed him on one of his own beds. In this manner Theseus imitated Hercules, who punished those who attacked him by the same kinds of death which they had prepared for him.

10. From Hermione (or Erione) he came to the banks of the Cephisus, in Attica, where he found the family of the Phytalides, who came out to do him honour. The first thing he demanded of them was that he might be purified, in order to be admitted to the holy mysteries. The Phytalides purified him with all the accustomed ceremonies; and after having offered a sacrifice to render the gods propitious to him, they lodged him and regaled him in their house. This was the first act of courtesy which he received on his journey.

11. It is said that Theseus entered Athens on the eighteenth of the month Hecatombæon. He found that city, in general, full of troubles and dissensions, and the royal house, especially, in great disorder: for Medeia, having

escaped from Corinth, had sought an asylum with Ægeus, and, promising him that by her medical arts she would secure to him a family, was then living in his house. This woman, hearing of the arrival of Theseus, and of his intentions, knew so well how to sway the mind of the prince, now enfeebled with age, and rendered timid and suspicious by the different parties in the city, that she persuaded him to poison at a feast a youth who was to be introduced to him as a stranger. She then sent a messenger to invite Theseus to the feast. When he entered the hall, he did not feel that it was proper, then, to declare who he was; but, wishing to gain the attention of his father, he drew the sword, as if to cut the meat as soon as it was served up. Ægeus, instantly recognising the sword, threw down the cup of poison, asked Theseus many questions, and having embraced him, he summoned a general assembly, when he recognised his son in the presence of all the Athenians, who received him with great joy, on account of his valour.

12. The Pallantides had hoped, till then, to succeed Ægeus, whom they believed to be childless; but Theseus, having been recognised as the true heir to the kingdom, they took arms, divided themselves into two bands, one of which, led by Pallas their father, set out from the village of Sphettus, in open day, and marched straight to the city; and the other formed an ambuscade in the village of Gargettus; hoping to surprise their enemies at two different points. The party at Gargettus had among them a herald of the name of Leos, from the village of Agnus, who betrayed their secret to Theseus. Theseus immediately fell on the men as they lay in ambush, and cut them off: when Pallas, and the other party, heard of the destruction of their companions, they dispersed.

13. To keep himself actively employed, and, also, to gain the favour of the Athenians, Theseus went out against the bull of Marathon, which was the terror of the inhabitants of the *Tetrapolis*, (or the four towns of Œnoe, Probalyntha, Tricorythe, and Marathon.) He took the bull alive, and, having driven him through the city in the sight of the people, offered him in sacrifice to the Delphinian Apollo.

14. The story of Hecale, and the reception she gave to

Theseus, appears not to be entirely void of truth; for, anciently, all the neighbouring villagers assembled every year to offer to Jupiter Hecalus the Hecalesian sacrifice, in which they specially honoured this Hecale, whom they called by the endearing diminutive Hecalene, in memory of the affection with which she had received Theseus while a youth, caressing him, and calling him by tender names, as elderly persons are accustomed to show their love to children. This woman had vowed, that if Theseus returned safely from an expedition on which he went, she would offer a solemn sacrifice to Jupiter: she died before the expedition was finished; but when Theseus returned, he ordered the sacrifice to be offered, rendering the highest honours to Hecale, because of the kindness she had shown him.

15. The ambassadors from Minos, king of Crete, came now, for the third time, to demand the accustomed tribute from the Athenians, on account of the death of his son Androgeus. Androgeus had been treacherously slain at Athens, and Minos, in revenge, had carried thither fire and sword; the gods, also, it was believed, joined in avenging the murder, laying the country waste by famine, pestilence, and drought. The Athenians, overwhelmed by these calamities, had recourse to the oracle of Apollo. The oracle replied, that they could find no end of their miseries, and that Heaven would not be appeased, until they had given Minos the satisfaction he required. They, therefore, sent ambassadors to Crete, humbly supplicating peace. Minos granted the peace, on condition that every ninth year they should send seven Athenian youths, and seven virgins, to Crete. This is almost all that the historians have related; but to make the story more tragical, fable has added, that these young Athenians were devoured by the Minotaur; or that, being shut up in a labyrinth from which there was no escape, they died of hunger. The Minotaur, according to Euripides, was a frightful monster, half man, and half bull. But Philochorus writes, after the Cretans, that the labyrinth was simply a prison which had no other evil than that of being securely guarded; that Minos, to honour the memory of his son, had founded games, in which the victors received as prizes the Athenian captives; and that the first of the victors was one of his principal courtiers and generals, named

Taurus, a rude and brutal man, who treated his Athenian captives with haughtiness and cruelty. Aristotle, too, in his Republic of the Bottians, shows that he did not believe that the children were put to death by Minos; because, he assures us, they grew old in slavery, and gained a wretched subsistence by the labour of their hands.

16. The arrival of the Cretan ambassadors, for the third payment of this dreadful tribute, occasioned loud and deep complaints among the parents for whose children the lot was to be cast. They alleged that Ægeus, by causing Androgeus to be murdered, was the reason of their misfortunes, though he had no share in the punishment; and that, while he delivered his kingdom to a stranger and a bastard, he could look without pity on them, who were deprived of their lawful children. Theseus was deeply touched by these complaints. Considering that it was only just that he should share the fortunes of his subjects, he freely offered himself, without the chances of the lot, as one of the victims. The people were charmed at seeing him display the sentiments, not of a king, but of a citizen. Ægeus did all in his power to divert Theseus from his purpose; but, seeing that his prayers and his remonstrances were alike vain, he drew the lots for the other youths. Hellanicus says, that lots were not used at all; but that Minos came in person to make his own selection, and that he took Theseus on these conditions:—that the Athenians should furnish the vessels; that the youths should embark with him unarmed; and that the death of the Minotaur should free the Athenians from this tribute.

17. On the previous occasions, the ship which conveyed the mournful tribute from Athens to Crete, had been furnished with black sails, as there was no hope for the unhappy victims. But on this occasion, Theseus encouraged his father with the prospect of destroying the Minotaur; the king, therefore, gave the pilot a white sail, which he was to hoist, on his return, if he brought Theseus safely back; if not, the black sail was to be the token of his loss. When the lots were drawn, Theseus took his companions with him from the Prytaneum to the temple of Apollo, where he made an offering of a consecrated olive, bound with white wool. When he arrived at Crete, it was believed that Taurus would, as before, carry away the

prizes; but, as he was generally hated for his cruelty and haughtiness, and the king himself was jealous of him, Minos permitted Theseus to compete with him at the games. Theseus vanquished Taurus; and the king delivered the other youths to him, and gave up the tribute.

18. The story of Ariadne is given by Plutarch after different versions. One account relates that Ariadne, falling in love with Theseus, gave him a clue of thread, and taught him how to use it as a guide through the windings of the labyrinth; and Theseus, thus assisted, slew the Minotaur, and set sail, carrying with him Ariadne, as well as his Athenian companions.

19. There are many other reports respecting Theseus and Ariadne, which have no certainty. Pæon, of Amathusa, says, that Theseus, having been cast by a storm on the shores of Cyprus, was obliged to land Ariadne in a boat, she being violently ill from the roughness of the sea. Having returned to save his vessel, he was driven away by the winds. The women of the island treated Ariadne with great humanity, and endeavoured to soothe her grief by pretended letters from Theseus. But they could not save her life. Yet they buried her with much pomp. Theseus arrived in the midst of the funeral ceremonies; and, to immortalize the memory of Ariadne, and of his love for her, he erected two statues to her, one in brass, and one in silver; and he left a large sum of money with the inhabitants, for an annual commemoration. . . . . The sacred wood, in which they still show the tomb of the princess, is called by the people of Amathusa, "The grave of Venus Ariadne."

20. Theseus, in returning to Athens, stopped at the Isle of Delos, where he sacrificed to Apollo, and dedicated an image of Venus, which he had received from Ariadne. He then joined the youths in a dance, which the Delians practised, imitating the mazes of the labyrinths in measured time. When they approached Attica, both the pilot and the prince were so full of joy that they forgot to hoist the white sail. Ægeus, in his despair, threw himself from the rocks, and perished. As soon as Theseus landed, he hastened to offer the sacrifices which he had vowed, at his departure from Phalerum; in the meantime sending a herald to Ægeus to announce his return. The herald met

crowds of people on the road, lamenting the death of the king;—while others, rejoicing at the safe return of Theseus, gave him a hearty welcome, and prepared to crown him with a chaplet as the bearer of good tidings. Entwining the chaplet round his staff, the herald returned to the sea-shore; and, when Theseus had completed the libations, he told him of his father's death. With heavy hearts and mournful cries, they hastened to the city. Theseus buried his father, and then paid his vows to Apollo.

21. The vessel in which Theseus was conveyed to Crete, and back to Athens, was a galley of thirty oars, which the Athenians preserved (nearly a thousand years) till the time of Demetrius the Phalerian, taking great care to renew, from time to time, the planks which perished through age. Philosophers, disputing on the identity of objects which grow, whether they are still the same, notwithstanding their growth, or whether they become different objects, have not failed to adduce this vessel as an example of reasonable doubt; some maintaining that she was always the same, and others, on the contrary, that she became another vessel.

22. It is said that Theseus had not taken with him all the virgins upon whom the lot fell, but that he had chosen two young men, full of courage and activity, yet of delicate feminine beauty, whom he trained to imitate the voice and gestures, and to wear the costume and ornaments, of females. On his return, he made a procession, in which these youths appeared as females, in honour of Bacchus and Ariadne, because of the fable of their love, or rather, because his return was during the autumn, after the gathering of the fruits. In this ceremony, which was long kept up at Athens, there were certain women called the *Deipnophoræ*, or bearers of food, who took part in the sacrifice, as representatives of the mothers bringing food to their children, before their departure from Crete, and who were employed in relating fables, in memory of the tales with which their unhappy mothers soothed the griefs of their devoted children. They consecrated a portion of land and a temple to Theseus, who ordered that the expenses of the sacrifice should be paid by all the families whose children were liable to the lot by which they would have been sent to Crete. The Phytalides were rewarded for their hospi-

tality to Theseus, by being appointed the presidents of these solemnities.

23. Ægeus being now dead, Theseus accomplished a great and wonderful work. Hitherto the people of Attica had been scattered among numerous villages, so that it was difficult to bring them together, to take counsel for the public safety; and there were even quarrels and wars among themselves. Theseus went from tribe to tribe, and from family to family, persuading them to become one people in one city. The poorer tribes and families were easily gained; but he found some resistance among the richer and more powerful, though he proposed to them a popular government, in which there should be no king, and in which he himself should be no more than their leader in war, and the guardian of laws adopted by the equal authority of all the citizens. Some of the objectors he succeeded in persuading; and, at length, the rest, seeing that Theseus was at once bold and powerful, yielded with a good grace to his wishes, rather than hold out only to be subdued by force. He dissolved the local magistracies; destroyed the halls of the separate villages, and built one common hall, the Prytaneum, which stands to this day. He called the old and the new town—Athens. He united the whole people in one sacrifice, which, instead of being called as before the *Athanæa*, was now called *Panathenæa*. He also celebrated the Feast of Migration, which was afterwards observed on the sixteenth day of the month Hecatombæon (July or August). Theseus then laid down his royal authority, according to his engagement; and he settled the new republic, under the sanction of the Delphic oracle: "Theseus, son of Ægeus, and of the daughter of Pittheus, my father has joined the destinies of many towns to thine: as for thee, unsubdued by misfortunes, yield not to care: for thou shalt be as a bladder on the waves of the raging sea." It is said that, long after, the Sibyl gave to Athens this verse:— "Immersed thou mayest, submerged thou canst not, be."

24. That he might enlarge and people the city, Theseus invited all strangers to enjoy the rights and privileges of citizens; and the proclamation, which he made with a view of forming one community for all the world, was—"Come hither, all people." But, lest a promiscuous crowd,

gathered from all parts, should bring disorder into the republic, he formed three distinct classes, of patricians, husbandmen, and artisans. To the patricians he assigned the guardianship of religion and the laws: thus securing to them the preponderance of dignity and honour, while the advantage of utility belonged to the husbandmen, and that of number to the artisans. Aristotle says, that Theseus was the first who established a popular government, and deprived himself of royalty. Homer seems to support this, in his "Catalogue of the Ships," speaking of the Athenians only as "the people." Theseus stamped on the Athenian coin the image of an ox, either from the bull of Marathon, or the Taurus of Crete, or with a view to encourage agriculture among the people. From this coinage, it is supposed, arose the common expression of a thing being worth a hundred oxen, or ten oxen.—Theseus joined the territory of Megara to that of Attica, and placed on the isthmus the celebrated pillar which marked the limit between the Peloponnesus and Ionia. On the eastern side, were the words, "This is not Peloponnesus, but Ionia;" and, on the western side, "This is Peloponnesus, and not Ionia." Theseus was the first who founded games in the Isthmus. This he did in imitation of Hercules, and from a kind of emulation: that as the Greeks celebrated the Olympic games at Elis, in honour of Jupiter, by the order of Hercules, so the Isthmian games, in honour of Neptune, should preserve his own memory among that people. The ceremony had formerly been offered at night in the same place, to the memory of Melicertes, rather in the style of secret sacrifices than of a public spectacle and celebration. There are those, indeed, who say that Theseus instituted the Isthmian games to expiate the crime of killing Sciron, whom he had thrown into the sea, as they were nearly related, Sciron being the son of Canethus, and of Henioches, daughter of Pittheus; while others are found asserting that this was not Sciron, but Sinnis. At the celebration of the Isthmian games, Theseus induced the Corinthians to agree that the Athenians should have the principal seats, covering as much ground as the sail of the ship that conveyed them, when stretched to the full; as Hellanicus, and Andron of Halicarnassus, have written.

25. Theseus sailed, according to Philochorus and others,

among the followers of Hercules to the Euxine sea, in the war against the Amazons; and he received Antiope as the reward of his courage; but most writers, including Pherecydes, Hellanicus, and Herodotus, say, that Theseus made that voyage in his own ship, after the time of Hercules, when he carried away that Amazon as his captive; which is, indeed, more likely, for we do not read of any other warrior, in the expedition of Hercules, who had taken an Amazon prisoner. Bion relates, that when Theseus reached the coast of the Amazons, they were so far from shunning him, that they sent him presents; that the hero invited Antiope, who brought the presents, to his ship; and that, as soon as she was on board, he immediately set sail. Menecrates, who published a history of Nice, in Bithynia, says that, after Antiope went on board his ship, Theseus remained some time near that coast. Among his followers were three Athenians, Euneus, Thoas, and Solōōn, who were brothers. The youngest brother, Solōōn, fell in love with Antiope, and revealed his secret to one of his comrades, who mentioned it to Antiope. She rejected his love; but she conducted herself with gentleness and prudence, not even discovering the affair to Theseus. Solōōn, in despair, leaped into a river, and was drowned. Theseus was thrown by this adventure into deep sorrow, which brought to his memory a response which the priestess of Apollo had once given him at Delphi: "that when he visited a foreign country, he should build a city, in the place where he met with the heaviest calamity;" and that he "should entrust the government to some of his followers." He then built a city, naming it Pythopolis, after the Pythian deity; the river which flowed by he called Solōōn, in memory of his lost follower; and he appointed the young man's two brothers, along with Hermas, belonging to one of the principal families in Athens, to be the governors and lawgivers of the new city.

26. The war of the Amazons was not a light work, nor was it waged after the manner of women; for, could they have reached the ancient city, and fought a bloody battle between the Pnyx and the Musæum, if they had not, previously, subdued, all the neighbouring people? It is hard to believe Hellanicus, when he says that they came from so

great a distance as to have crossed the Cimmerian Bosphorus on the ice; but that they actually encamped in Athens is proved, both by the names of places, and by the tombs of those who fell in the battle. For a long time, both armies hesitated to give the signal for attack. At length, Theseus, guided by an oracle, offered a sacrifice to Fear, and then rushed on the enemy. It is said that Antiope was pierced with a dart by Molpadia, while she fought side by side with Theseus, and that he erected a column over her grave, near the temple of the Olympian Earth. That the war was ended by a treaty of peace, has been gathered both from the name of the place *Horcomosion*, or place of the oath, opposite the temple of Theseus, where the treaty was sworn, and from the ancient sacrifice offered annually to the Amazons, before the feast of Theseus. The story told by the writer of the Theseid—that the Amazons engaged in this war to avenge the insult of Theseus towards Antiope, in abandoning her to marry Phædra; and, that they were put to death by Hercules—is too plainly marked with the character of fable. It is certain that Theseus did not espouse Phædra till after the death of Antiope. By Antiope he had a son, named Hippolytus. The calamities which befell Theseus through Phædra and Hippolytus are entitled to belief, as they are represented in the same manner by the tragical poets, and by the historians. Other marriages of Theseus have been related, which were never represented on the stage: and of these the end was as tragical as the beginning was dishonourable.

27. At a time when the heroes of Greece lost no occasion for signalizing their valour, Herodotus describes Theseus as engaged only in the combat of the Lapithæ with the Centaurs; but, in this, he is contradicted by many other historians; for they represent Theseus as not only following Jason to the conquest of the Golden Fleece, and as assisting Meleager in the defeat of the Boar,—whence the proverb,—"Not without Theseus,"—but also as, alone, achieving so many other great exploits, that it was commonly said of him, on account of his extraordinary valour, "He is another Hercules." He also helped Adrastus to recover the bodies of those who fell before Cadmea (ancient Thebes), not, as Euripides has sung, in his Tragedy, by

subduing the Thebans, but by inducing them to grant a truce. Philochorus says that this was the first treaty made for the recovery of the slain: Hercules was, however, the first who generously gave up the dead to his enemies.

28. The friendship of Theseus and Peirithous began thus: the fame of Theseus' valour was so great, that Peirithous desired to put him to the test; he, therefore, made a descent on Marathon, and drove away a herd of oxen. Theseus, hearing of this outrage, pursued him; Peirithous, who only sought to draw him into combat, turned quickly round, and faced him; but when they met, each was so struck with the manly beauty and bravery of the other, that they lost all desire to fight; and Peirithous, reaching forth his hand to Theseus, made him the judge in his own cause, promising to submit to any punishment he might award; but Theseus forgave him, and asked him to be his friend and brother; they then confirmed their friendship with an oath.

29. After this interview, Peirithous, having married Deidameia, invited Theseus to visit his country, and to join the Lapithæ at a festival. It so happened, that he had, also, invited the Centaurs. The Centaurs, who drank to excess, became exceedingly fierce and insolent, and did not even refrain from insulting the women. The Lapithæ arose against them, and slew some of them; and, afterwards, with the help of Theseus, they waged war against them, and drove them from that country. Herodotus rejects this account, stating that the war had begun before the arrival of Theseus to the succour of the Lapithæ. He says that then, for the first time, Theseus saw Hercules, whom he found, reposing from his wanderings and labours, at Trachina; and he describes the interview of the two heroes as marked, on both sides, by every token of admiration and esteem. But we rather follow those writers who report that Theseus and Hercules had often met before; that it was by the influence, and at the request, of Theseus, that Hercules was initiated into the mysteries of Ceres at Eleusis; and that it was Theseus who conducted Hercules to his purification from the guilt of involuntary actions, which it was necessary that he should receive, before he entered on the ceremonies of initiation.

30. At the age of fifty, as Hellanicus relates, Theseus

carried away Helena, who was yet a child. The tender age of the princess has furnished some authors with a plea for clearing Theseus from so criminal a charge. They say that she was not taken by him ; but that Ida and Lynceus, the real depredators, had placed her under his charge, and that he had detained her, refusing to resign her to her brothers Castor and Pollux ; or, rather, that it was Tyndarus, her father, himself, who had delivered her to him, to protect her from Enarephorus, son of Hippocoön, who was seeking an opportunity to take violent possession of the royal beauty. But the following account is more probable, and supported by a greater number of witnesses. Theseus and Peirithous came to Sparta, seized Helena as she danced in the temple of Diana Orthia, and fled with her. Their pursuers followed them no further than to Tegea. Seeing that they were now secure, the plunderers, having crossed the Peloponnesus, agreed that the one to whom the lot assigned this precious child should assist the other in gaining a similar prize elsewhere. The lot was in favour of Theseus, who conducted Helena to Aphidnæ, where he placed her, together with his own mother, under the care of his friend Aphidnus, charging him to guard them strictly from the eyes of all men.

31. From this time, Theseus gave himself to the service of Peirithous, according to their agreement. They went together to Epirus to carry away the daughter of Aïdoneus, king of the Molossi. This king called his wife Proserpine; his daughter, Coré ; and his dog, Cerberus. All suitors for his daughter's hand, he required to fight with this dog, promising to give her to the victor. But when he heard that Peirithous had come, not as a suitor, but to carry his daughter by force, he seized them both, commanding Peirithous to be devoured instantly by the dog, and putting Theseus in chains.

32. In the mean time, Menestheus, the son of Peteus, who was son of Orneus, grandson of Erechtheus—the first of mortals, it is said, who aspired to sway the people by the flatteries of eloquence, stirred up the discontented patricians of Athens by reminding them that Theseus had taken from them all the authority which each of them formerly enjoyed in his own tribe; and that, by confining them to one city, he had made them entirely his subjects, or rather slaves. Then

he roused the common people, by declaring to them that, under the dream of liberty, they were robbed of their country, and of their sacred rites, in order that, instead of being governed by many and just kings, they might acknowledge for their sole master an unknown adventurer. His designs were favoured by the Tyndarides, (Castor and Pollux, brothers of Helena,) who, at that time, invaded Attica. Some there are who say plainly that Menestheus invited the Tyndarides. At first, the invaders avoided every act of direct hostility: they only demanded their sister. When the Athenians declared that they neither had the princess, nor knew where she was, they began the war. But Academus, who had by some means discovered the place, told them that Helena was concealed at Aphidnæ. For this service, the Tyndarides rendered him honours while he lived; and the Lacedæmonians, who afterwards made frequent incursions into Attica, and devastated the whole region, spared the Academy, from respect for the memory of Academus. The Tyndarides went against Aphidnæ, conquered the inhabitants, and destroyed the town. Menestheus persuaded the affrighted people of Athens to admit the Tyndarides into the city, assuring them that their war was only with Theseus, the author of the wrong which they came to avenge, and that, to all others, they came only as benefactors and deliverers. The event proved that his words were true. They did not act as conquerors, but asked only that they might be initiated into the mysteries, to which they thought themselves as much entitled as Hercules had been, since they were as nearly related as he was to the Athenian state. They were adopted by Aphidnus as Hercules had been by Phyleus. They were, also, invested with divine honours, and they were styled Anakes, either because they had put an end to the war, or because they had shown so much regard for the Athenians, that, when they had so large an army within the walls, they offered injury to none.

33. It is said, that the mother of Theseus was taken to Lacedæmon, and that she afterwards followed Helena to Troy; a report founded on the verse in Homer, when speaking of the followers of Helena, he mentions "Æthra, the daughter of Pittheus, and the fair Clymene." But most critics reject that verse as spurious. The historian, Ister, in his third book of Attic affairs, gives a singular history of

Æthra, differing entirely from all others. He says, that Paris having been defeated by Achilles and Patroclus, near the river Sperchus, in Thessaly, Hector took the town of Trœzen, and made Æthra his prisoner: in which there is no appearance of truth.

34. King Aïdoneus, having received Hercules as a guest, chanced to speak to him of Peirithous and Theseus, exposing their wicked design, and relating the vengeance which he had taken on them. Hercules was grieved to hear that one of them was dead, and that the other was in hourly danger of a similar fate. Seeing that it was useless to complain of the punishment of Peirithous, he begged of the king that, for his sake, he would grant Theseus his liberty. Aïdoneus, at his request, freed Theseus from his chains. As soon as he was at liberty, Theseus returned to Athens, where his party was not entirely destroyed. His first care was to testify his gratitude to his deliverer. He consecrated to Hercules all the groves and temples, excepting four, with which the Athenians had endowed him, calling them Heraclea, instead of Thesea, as Philochorus has related. But when he attempted, as before, to preside over the republic, he was surrounded with seditions. Those whom he had left dissatisfied with his government, now added to their hatred contempt of his authority. The people were so perverted that they no longer silently obeyed the laws, but required to be caressed. Finding that he could not reduce them by force, he sent his children secretly to Elephenor, son of Chalcodon, in Eubœa. He then retired to the village of Gargettus, uttered his curses on the Athenians, in a place still called *Araterion*, the place of cursing, and from thence embarked for the isle of Scyros, opposite the eastern side of Eubœa, where he had some property which he inherited from his father. At that time, Lycomedes was king in Scyros. To him Theseus applied to be put in possession of his property, as he was about to settle there. Some writers say, that he asked Lycomedes to give him help against the Athenians. But the king, either fearing the reputation of so great a man, or desiring to court the favour of Menestheus, led him to a high rock, under the pretence of showing him the lands which belonged to him, and, casting him headlong from the rock, put him to death. Some say, that he fell as he was walking, according to his custom, after

supper. At the time, no notice was taken of his death; but Menestheus reigned in Athens. The sons of Theseus led a private life, and followed Elephenor to the Trojan war. Menestheus died on the same expedition; and these young princes, returning to Athens, were restored to their dignity.

35. In after times, the Athenians honoured Theseus as a hero; for when they fought the Medes at Marathon, not a few of the soldiers believed that they saw Theseus, armed, in front of the standards, and beating down the barbarian invaders. After the war with the Medes, too, when the Athenians consulted the oracle of Apollo, in the year of Phædon's archonship, the prophetess bade them gather up the bones of Theseus, deposit them in the most honourable place in their city, and guard them with reverential care. But, if it was difficult to find the place where he had been buried, it was a still greater difficulty to transport his bones, because of the ferocity of the barbarians, who were intractable, and who had no intercourse with their neighbours. At last, Cimon, having become master of the island, resolved, at whatever cost, to find the tomb of Theseus. While diligent search was made in all quarters, he saw an eagle attempting to make an opening in a small elevation. Struck at once, as by an omen, he ordered the place to be digged, and found there the coffin of a large man, with the brazen head of a spear, and a sword. Cimon conveyed them in his own vessel to Athens. The Athenians joyfully received the relics with processions and sacrifices, as though it were the living prince himself, and buried them in the city near to the place now called the Gymnasium. It was long a sacred asylum for slaves, for the poor and the oppressed, as Theseus had been the friend of such while he lived. On the eighth day of the month Pyanepsion, (October or November), the Athenians offer their principal sacrifice to Theseus, that being the anniversary of his return with the youths from Crete.

36. We cannot but admire the great diligence of Plutarch, in reading the ancient historians and poets, and the lively manner in which he tells the story of the founder of Athens. Yet we must not forget his own caution; for there is so much obscurity that we can scarcely separate the facts from the embellishments of poetical fancy. The lesson

which was, perhaps, designed to be taught in this whole story of Theseus is—that no course can prosper which begins in disobedience to the will of Heaven: a lesson, indeed, which every life illustrates. A long period of seeming prosperity may be secured by sufficient abilities suitably employed in favourable circumstances: but this seeming prosperity may become a snare. Success may be worse than failure; for it may swell the heart with pride and arrogance; and then, God is forgotten, duty is neglected, and inward peace is lost.

37. As the conduct of Ægeus, in marrying the daughter of Pittheus, was in opposition to the oracle, so, according to the belief of the Greeks, the life of Theseus, his son, was attended with grievous calamities, and a horrible death. Our holy religion condemns the idolatry, the hero-worship, the belief in oracles, and all the superstitions of the ancient Greeks. But is not their devotion to these fancies, which they regarded as religion, a reproach to those who, possessing the true faith, live in the neglect of its truth and ordinances, of its duties and of its blessings? What a fearful thing it will be for them to rise up in the judgment with those who are called Christians, and to condemn them. Their superstitions show that they felt the need of higher guidance than their own reason, and their own experience. We have the living and true God revealed to us. We have the one Sacrifice for sin set before us. We can consult the "lively oracles" of the inspired Scriptures. We can at all times seek the teaching of the Holy Spirit. The memories of saints who have departed are preserved, and the examples of holy men and women are before our eyes. We are called to be citizens of heaven. The Founder of that city is the Son of God, the Saviour of men, who brings freedom and peace, redeems from the captivity of sin, and bids all people welcome to the protection and the privileges of those who love him. There is no part of his history which needs to be coloured with fiction, or wrapped in a veil of secrecy. He was "holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens." He pities and blesses the most ungrateful of those who have rejected his rule, and despised his grace, when they come to him with humility and penitence. To them the memorials of his death are precious. They know that he left his tomb, and liveth for ever! They

rejoice in the hope that they shall dwell with him for ever in the mansions which he has gone to prepare for them. Happy they who follow him!

LIFE OF LYCURGUS.

B. C. 906.

1. We can say but little respecting Lycurgus, the lawgiver, which is not reported differently by historians; for they follow different traditions of his origin, his travels, his death, and still more, of his laws, and the form of government which he established; and they are at still wider variance as to the time in which he lived. Some affirm that he was associated with Iphitus in regulating the suspension of arms during the Olympic games; of this opinion is Aristotle, the philosopher, grounding it on an Olympic quoit on which the name of Lycurgus was engraved. Others who, with Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, reckon the times by the successions of the Spartan kings, have placed Lycurgus many years earlier than the first Olympiad. But, as there were two persons in Sparta of the name of Lycurgus, who lived at different times, Timæus supposes that the deeds of both have been attributed to him who is the more ancient, and enjoys the highest reputation, who flourished near the time of Homer, and had seen that poet. Xenophon, also, supports the opinion of his great antiquity, by saying that "he lived in the days of the Heracleidæ." It is true that the later kings of Sparta were descended from the Heracleidæ; but the historian seems to speak only of the earlier descendants of Hercules. However this may be, such diversity needs not prevent our collating what we find recorded of this eminent man, confining ourselves to matters which are least disputed, and relying on the authority of the most illustrious and credible witnesses.

2. The poet Simonides says, that the father of Lycurgus was Prytanis; but according to others, Soüs was the son of Patrocles, and grandson of Aristodemus; Eurytion was the son of Soüs, Prytanis the son of Eurytion, Eunomus the son of Prytanis; and Lycurgus was the son of Eunomus, by

Dianassa, his second wife. Eutychides, another historian, places Lycurgus the sixth in the direct line from Patrocles, and the eleventh from Hercules. Of these ancestors, Soüs was held in special admiration. Under his reign, the Spartans enslaved the Helotes, and conquered great part of the territory of the Arcadians. It is related of him that, being besieged by the Cleitorians, of Arcadia, in a place where his adherents suffered greatly from the want of water, he offered to restore to the Cleitorians all their lands, if they would permit him and all his army to drink at a fountain which was near their camp. The Cleitorians having consented, and oaths being exchanged, Soüs assembled his troops, and promised the kingdom to any man among them who would refrain from drinking. There was not one among them who refrained; but the king himself coming last, only washed his face in the presence of the enemy, and, going on his way, refused to give up the lands, under the hollow pretext, that they had not all drunk of the water. Greatly as the Spartans admired this king, they named his house, not after him, but after his son Eurytion, because Eurytion was the first Spartan king, it seems, who gratified the people by somewhat relaxing the royal authority. This relaxation was attended with great confusion for a long time; for if the kings who succeeded Eurytion sought to recover their authority by force, they made themselves hated; and if through gentleness or weakness they dissembled, they brought on themselves the contempt of the people; so that there was general confusion, in the midst of which the laws were disregarded. To this state of affairs, the king, Lycurgus' father, owed his death; for endeavouring to separate two persons who were quarrelling, he was mortally stabbed with a knife, leaving the kingdom to his eldest son, Polydectes.

3. Polydectes died not long after his father, without children; and it was expected that Lycurgus would ascend the throne; but learning that his brother's widow would soon be a mother, he declared that if she bore a son, the kingdom belonged to her infant; and from that time he ruled under the title of Prodicos, which the Lacedæmonians gave to the guardians of their kings. The widow sent a secret message to Lycurgus, offering to destroy the infant, if he would marry her when he obtained the kingdom.

Though Lycurgus execrated the wickedness of this woman, he appeared to consent to her proposal, but engaged that he would himself dispose of the infant. At the time of the birth, he gave orders that if the child were a girl, she should be placed immediately under the care of the women; but if a boy, he should be instantly brought to him, wherever he might be. As he was supping with the magistrates, the new-born child was brought to him; he took him in his arms, and said to those who were present, "A king is born to you, Spartans." He placed the infant on the throne; and he called him Charilaus, because of the joy with which the people were filled at the sight of such wisdom and justice. Lycurgus had ruled eight months. But so great was the veneration in which he was held, that the number of those who cheerfully obeyed him on account of his virtue, was greater than that of those who respected his power, and his authority as the guardian of the king. He was not without enemies, especially among the relations and friends of the young king's mother, who resented the trick which, as she believed, the integrity of Lycurgus had played upon her. They lost no opportunity of defaming him. Leonidas, the royal widow's brother, had the insolence to say to Lycurgus, that he well knew that he would soon be king; insinuating that the life of the young king was exposed to danger.

4. Lycurgus resolved to put an end to these calumnies and suspicions, by withdrawing from Sparta, until his nephew should have a son to succeed him on the throne. His first visit was to Crete, where he studied the government and the laws; conversed with the most distinguished inhabitants; and adopted such of their institutions as he perceived likely to be of advantage to Sparta on his return. Having secured the friendship of Thales, one of the most celebrated sages and politicians of Crete, he prevailed on him to go to Sparta. Thales was esteemed in Sparta as a lyric poet; but while practising his art, he was discharging the functions of the most admired legislators; for his songs were, in fact, orations, which, by the charm of melodious measure, allured men to concord and obedience, softening their manners, and chasing away their hatred of each other.

5. From Crete, Lycurgus passed into Asia, with the design, it is said, of comparing the luxury of the Ionians

with the simple habits of the Cretans, and tracing their effects on the government, as a physician compares a feeble with a healthy body. There, too, as it seems, he first saw the poems of Homer, which were preserved by the descendants of Creophylus; and, finding that the moral and political lessons of those poems were not less useful than their pictures and ornaments were agreeable, he copied them, and collected them for the purpose of sending them home. Though these poems had been previously known, and a few persons had copies of detached parts, Lycurgus was the first who brought them into general notice.

6. The Egyptians say that Lycurgus was in their country, and that being much struck with the separation of their warriors from the rest of the community, he introduced the same custom at Sparta; where, by separating the lower artisans and craftsmen, he established a government truly pure and noble. Some Greek historians agree with the Egyptians in this matter; but Aristocrates, son of Hipparchus, a Spartan, is the only writer who relates that Lycurgus visited Africa or Spain, or that he travelled to India, for the purpose of conversing with the Indian philosophers, whom the Greeks called *Gymnosophists*.

7. While Lycurgus was abroad, the Lacedæmonians, impatient of his absence, had often sent representatives to him, beseeching him to return; for they found that their kings had nothing but their title and dignity to distinguish them from their subjects; while Lycurgus, born to command, and a king by nature, was endowed with an energy and grace whereby to sway the minds of men. Even the kings were so far from opposing his return, that they hoped his presence might restrain the passions of the unruly multitude. Thus encouraged, Lycurgus returned. He resolved, at once, to change the whole form of the government, wisely judging that partial remedies would be of no avail. He aimed at removing at once the diseases by which the body politic was disordered, and threatened with destruction. Having formed his purpose, he first repaired to Delphi, to consult Apollo. After presenting his sacrifice, he returned home with that famous oracle, in which the Pythoness addressed him: "Friend of the gods, and a god rather than a man, the god hath heard thy prayers; and he will give thee a republic better than all that have ever

been." Animated by this response, he conciliated the friendship of the chief citizens; and, with their help, succeeded in secretly gaining, by degrees, a powerful party, ready to carry out his plans. When the proper season arrived, he directed thirty of the leading people to appear armed in the Agora at the dawn of day, to surprise and terrify such as might oppose him. Of these thirty, the most active was Arithmiadas. At the beginning of the outbreak, king Charilaus, apprehending a conspiracy entirely against himself, took refuge in the Brazen Temple. But, being assured by the oaths of the insurgents, he joined himself to them; for he was of so gentle a nature, that his colleague Archelaus said, one day, to some courtiers who were praising the young prince for his goodness, "How can Charilaus be otherwise than good, he who is not severe, even with the wicked?"

8. Among the many institutions of Lycurgus, the most important was that of the Senate, which, as Plato says, having equal authority with the kings, was the principal cause of the moderation and safety of that state; for they acted as a balance between the kings and the people, leaning towards the kings when the power of the people was too great, and strengthening the people, on the other hand, against the tyranny of the kings. So deeply had Lycurgus at heart the establishment of the senate, that he consulted the oracle at Delphi, concerning it. The decree was in these words: "When thou shalt have built a temple to Jupiter Syllanius and Minerva Syllania, and hast distributed the people into tribes, thou shalt constitute a senate of thirty men, including the kings; as occasions arise, thou shalt hold assemblies between Babyce and the Cnacion, where the senators shall consult the people, and dismiss the assembly; but the people shall have no right of speaking." According to Aristotle, Cnacion is the river, and Babyce is the bridge; for the Lacedæmonians held their assemblies between the bridge and the river, in a place where there was no portico, nor any other structure; for things of that sort were regarded as having nothing to do with right counsels, but, on the contrary, likely only to divert the members of the assembly from their proper business, to the contemplation of pictures, statues, and other theatrical embellishments. In these assemblies, the right of proposing any

measures belonged only to the kings and senators, while the people had authority to accept or reject them. But in the course of time, when the people changed, or perverted the decrees of the senate, the kings, Polydorus and Theopompus, added to the oracle the following clause: "Let the senate and the kings retract any decree which the people have perverted;" that is, they shall dismiss the assembly, and nullify its decisions; and they persuaded the citizens that this, too, was commanded by the oracle, as Tyrtæus relates, in these verses: "Phœbus Apollo gave you these oracles; if you desire to be successful, let the sacred kings preside in the assemblies, with the senators, and let the people receive their laws."

9. The government thus balanced by Lycurgus, soon fell entirely into the hands of the senate, who used their power with so much luxury and fierceness, that it became necessary to lay some new restraint on their authority. For this purpose, as Plato says, they gave them a bridle in the controlling power of the *Ephori*, about one hundred and thirty years after the time of Lycurgus. The first person appointed to this office was Elatus, in the reign of Theopompus. The wife of Theopompus having reproached him, one day, on account of this innovation, saying, that he would leave to his children a kingdom much less than that which he had received, he is said to have replied to her, "Nay, but a greater; because more lasting." In truth, by giving up what was excessive in his power, he defended it from envy, and the danger which follows envied power; so that his successors escaped the rock on which the kings of the Messenians and of the Argives had split, by refusing to relax their authority for the relief of the people. Nothing could more fully show the wisdom and foresight of Lycurgus, than the troubles of these and other neighbouring people, who were of the same origin with the Spartans, and whose lands were better, but whose prosperity was of short duration; for the pride of the kings, and the turbulence of the people, brought them to ruin; proving, by their example, that the favour of Heaven had been peculiarly granted to the Spartans, in raising up among them a man who knew so well how to arrange their government.

10. The second and boldest institution of Lycurgus was, the Division of the Land. The inequality of property

was so great, that the majority of the people were sunk in the deepest poverty, while all the property was in the hands of a very few persons. That he might expel insolence, envy, avarice, luxury, and the most ancient and deadly diseases of states—wealth and poverty—he prevailed on the citizens to make a new distribution, so as to live in perfect equality, preserving no distinction among them but the pre-eminence of virtue over vice. The land of Laconia was divided into thirty parts, among persons living in the adjacent villages, nine thousand being assigned to the inhabitants of the city, from the lands of Sparta. Each of these portions yielded seventy bushels of corn to each of the men, and twelve to each of the women, besides an equal proportion of fruits; a quantity believed to be sufficient for persons in sound health, and requiring only the necessaries of life. It is said of Lycurgus, that, coming home a few years after, from a distant journey, and passing through the lands of Laconia, in the time of harvest, he beheld the rows of equal sheaves; and turning, with a smile, to those who accompanied him, said, "Laconia is like the inheritance of many brothers, who are now dividing it among them."

11. After thus settling the fixed property of the country, he undertook to destroy all other causes of inequality among the people. But, foreseeing that this attempt would not be well received, if he made it openly, he took another method of sapping the very foundations of avarice. First of all, he proscribed all gold and silver coins, and issued only money made of iron, which was so heavy, and of so little value, that it required a wagon with two oxen to draw a sum of ten *minæ*, and a large chamber in their houses to contain it. No sooner was this new coinage issued, than many kinds of crimes were banished from the state; for who would choose to steal, or to take as a bribe, that which could not be concealed, which no man was the better for possessing, and which could not serve any purpose? for the workmen, it is said, had orders to plunge the red-hot iron in vinegar, so that it was incapable of being used in any other form. All useless and superfluous arts were driven out of Sparta; the greater part of them disappeared along with the ancient money. The artisans could receive no price for their productions, because the Spartan money was

refused and derided by all the other Greeks. In this manner, the Spartans were cut off from commerce with other people; no rare and precious cargoes were landed on their shores; and throughout the whole country there were neither sophists nor fortune-tellers, neither slave-dealers nor jewellers; for they had no money wherewith to pay them. By degrees, luxury died away. The rich could have no advantage over the poor, since their wealth could not be displayed in public. Every kind of necessary articles, as couches, chairs, tables, were wrought in a most skilful manner. The Spartan goblet, the *cothon*, was a singularly useful manufacture, especially in military expeditions: as Critias says, the colour of the goblet concealed the colour of any offensive water; and the brim was so contrived that the mud and filth were retained, allowing only the pure water to pass into the lips. The wisdom of the legislator was the sole cause of this; for the workmen, having nothing to do with useless or superfluous manufactures, devoted all their industry and ingenuity to such as were necessary for the usages of daily life.

12. Lycurgus, still bent on the discouragement of luxury, and of the love of money, introduced a third and singular custom, that of the Public Repasts. It was ordained that all the citizens should eat together; that their viands should be regulated by law; and that none should be allowed to have sumptuous entertainments at home, served up by the help of victuallers and cooks, on splendid tables with luxurious couches. These indulgences were denounced as depraving their morals, weakening their bodies, and requiring a mode of life suited only to the sick, such as frequent sleep, warm baths, and other daily remedies. If it was a grand achievement for Lycurgus to introduce so great a change, it was still more, by this regulated living and frugal fare, not only to protect riches from plunder, but to bring them into contempt; and, as Theophrastus says, "to trim them into poverty;" for there was no room for the display or the enjoyment of wealth, when the rich and the poor were fed at the same table. Thus Sparta was the only city in which the saying "that Plutus (the god of wealth) should be blind," was verified; for there he was laid up, like a picture or a statue, without motion or without life. None could come to the public tables from private repasts

at home, for they were closely watched; and those who did not eat and drink with the rest, were condemned for intemperance, or fastidious pride.

13. So distasteful was this institution to the rich, that they conspired against Lycurgus; they pursued him with murmurs and reproaches; once, when they attempted to stone him, he was forced to flee from the Agora, and take refuge in a temple; he had not reached this asylum when a young man, named Alcander, not otherwise of a bad disposition, but hot and hasty, struck him as he looked back, and beat out his eye. Lycurgus raised his bleeding face, and showed himself, thus wounded, to the citizens. Grieved and abashed at the sight, they gave up Alcander, and led Lycurgus to his home, with tears and lamentations. Lycurgus dismissed them with thanks. For Alcander, he inflicted no punishment on him, nor uttered any reproach; but, dismissing his usual attendants, ordered him to wait upon him. The young man was diligent in his obedience. Charmed with the gentleness, temperance, and activity of the great legislator, he declared among his friends that Lycurgus, far from being the proud and austere man his enemies imagined, was the mildest of mankind. This was Alcander's punishment: the rash and headstrong youth became a modest man, and a peaceful citizen. To commemorate this accident, Lycurgus built the temple of Minerva; and, from that time, the Spartans no longer carried staves in their public assemblies.

14. One public table in Sparta was laid out for about fifteen persons, each person being required to contribute, monthly, a bushel of flour or meal, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheese, two pounds and a half of figs, besides a little money for the lesser viands. There were only two occasions on which the Spartans were excused from the public tables—when they celebrated a sacrifice at home, and when they were engaged in hunting, and returned late home; in these cases, they sent a portion of the sacrifice, or of the venison, to the table which they attended. The custom was long retained with great strictness. When king Agis, on his return from the defeat of the Athenians, wished to sup at home with his wife, and sent for his portion from the hall, the Polemarchs refused it; and when, on the following day, he showed his resentment by neglect-

ing to offer the accustomed sacrifice of thanksgiving for victory, they fined him.

15. The public table was regarded as a school of wisdom and temperance for youths, where they listened to discourses on government, and imbibed the maxims and the manners of the noblest teachers. They were trained to give and to take jokes with good humour; for the Lacedæmonians were specially ambitious of being distinguished by their patience of raillery; though if any person felt it to be irksome, it was checked immediately. On first entering the hall, each person was addressed by the eldest of the assembly, who pointed to the doors, saying, "No words, pass them." The manner of admission was this: each guest held in his hand a ball of soft bread, which he cast silently into a basket, carried on the head of an attendant; if he were against the candidate, the ball was flattened by pressure in his hand. One unfavourable ball was sufficient to exclude a candidate; for they desired that each should be agreeable to all the rest.

16. Of the Spartan viands, the special favourite was the black broth; the elder left the flesh meats for the younger, while they ranged themselves on one side, to partake of this broth. There was a king of Pontus, who, according to report, had a Lacedæmonian cook, for the sake of having this famous broth, but on tasting it he disliked it; when the cook said to him, "O king, those who take this broth, must first bathe in the Eurotas." When the Spartans had taken a moderate quantity of wine, they returned home without torch-light: they were not allowed to carry lights, either then or at any other time, that they might be accustomed to march boldly and confidently in darkness and in the night. Such was the order of the *syssitia*, or public repasts.

17. Lycurgus gave no written laws, excepting only those called the Decrees; for he was of opinion that the surest way of making a people happy was to plant the seeds of virtue in their manners and institutions, which, being strengthened by the habit of a vigorous will, would make them their own law, and their own legislator. With regard to matters of contract and trade, he judged it better not to regulate them by any forms, but to leave them to the discretion of a people whose sole legislation bore

upon the education of their children. This was the reason why his laws were not written, as has been said. There was another decree against magnificence :—That the beams of all houses should be made with an axe, and the doors with a saw, without any other tools; for what Epaminondas is reported to have said of his table, "Such a table tempts to no treason," had been said before by Lycurgus, "Such a house does not expose men to luxury and expense;" for no man would be so senseless to furnish such a house with silver-footed couches, purple hangings, and vessels of gold, and the pomp which they bring with them; on the contrary, he would be obliged to conform his couches to the plainness of his house; the hangings and coverings to the couches; and the rest of his furniture to the hangings. It was this Spartan plainness that suggested the question which the ancient king Leotychides, supping at Corinth, put to his host, when he saw the elaborate work and splendid gilding of the ceiling,—"Do the trees grow square in your country?"

18. A third decree of Lycurgus is recorded, which forbade the Spartans warring repeatedly with the same people, lest they, by frequently defending themselves, should acquire the art of war. For the same reason, it is still objected to Agesilaus, that, by his frequent expeditions in Bœotia, he taught the Thebans to equal the Lacedæmonians. Thus, Antalcidas saw him wounded, and said, "You receive a worthy reward from the Thebans, for teaching them to fight you."

19. These three ordinances—That the laws should not be written, That the Spartans should dwell in plain houses, and That they should not war frequently with the same people, Lycurgus called *rhetra*, or decrees; that they might be received by the people as having the authority of divine oracles, rather than of human laws.

20. Lycurgus looked on the training of children as the greatest and most honourable business of a lawgiver; hence he commenced at the beginning, and regulated all that related to marriages and births. For he did not, (as Aristotle will have it,) when he addressed himself to the ordering of the women, abandon his design because of the leisure and authority they acquired in consequence of the absence of their husbands in the wars; but he attended to

them with the utmost care. He exercised the young girls in running, wrestling, in quoits, and throwing darts, that they might become the mothers of a strong and vigorous race. By these and other means, the women were accustomed to those simple and hardy manners which inspired them with sentiments of courage. This masculine tone pervaded their thoughts and their words: as in the celebrated reply of Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas: a foreign lady said to her, "You Lacedæmonians are the only women in the world who rule the men;" she answered, "truly we are the only women who are mothers of men."

21. Lycurgus did not permit the Spartans to have purchased or hired tutors, nor was any parent left to his own choice in the education of his children; but, at seven years of age, they were all put into classes, where they had their discipline and their amusements in common. The most able and courageous youth in each class was placed over the rest, who looked up to him as their leader, obeyed him as their master, and submitted to whatever punishment he might inflict; so that their entire youth was a course of training in habits of obedience. The elder Spartans were spectators of the amusements of the youths, often raising disputes and quarrels among them, for the purpose of testing their dispositions, their talents, and their courage. They learned letters so far as was absolutely necessary; but the great aim of their education was to form them to obedience, hardihood, and conquest. As they advanced in years, their discipline became more rigid. Their hair was cut close to the skin; they walked without sandals; and they were accustomed for the most part to go naked in their play. At the age of twelve, they left off their tunic, and each of them received a cloak, which was to last him through the year. Their bodies were squalid, unaccustomed to baths or ointments, except that on a few days in the year they used such indulgences. They slept together in rows, on beds made by themselves, from the reeds growing on the banks of the Eurotas, the tufts of which they plucked off with their hands, without the use of any iron tool. In winter, they mixed with the reed-tufts the down of thistles, for the sake of its warmth.

22. At this age, the Spartan boys who excelled others were adopted as the friends and companions of their elders,

who now attended more regularly at their place of exercise, not transiently and casually as before, but with the vigilance of fathers, masters, and governors; so that the youths were, at no time, and in no place, without the presence of persons to observe their actions, and to punish what was wrong. Besides this, one of the honoured and virtuous citizens acted as the governor of the youths, and he placed one of the wisest and bravest of their own number over every class; these were called *Eirenoi*, or those who had been two years removed from the class of boys; the boys who were about to become *Eirenoi*, were called *Melleirenoi*. This Eiren, when above twenty years of age, led his cohort in battle, and employed them as servants at home; the elder in carrying wood, and the younger in gathering herbs, which they stole, some from gardens, and others from the public dining-tables, into which they glided with cautious cunning; but if one of them were caught, he was beaten with many stripes for stealing stupidly, or without any skill. They stole whatever eatables they could, when the owners were asleep, or off their guard; if detected, they were punished with hunger, in addition to flogging. Their table was slenderly provided, in order that they might be forced to use their utmost craft and boldness; besides this, the spareness of their living was conducive to the tallness and beauty of their persons.

23. So great was the caution of the Spartan boys in stealing, that, it is said, one of them, who hid beneath his cloak a young fox which he had stolen, suffered the animal to tear out his bowels with his claws and teeth, rather than allow the theft to be discovered. Plutarch informs us that, in his day, many a young Spartan had died under the lash, on the altar of Orthia. It was usual for the Eiren, reposing at his supper, to command one of the boys to sing to him; and put, to another, a question which required a prompt yet deliberate answer, such as, "Who is the best of men?" or, "What do you think of such and such an action?" They were thus accustomed, from their earliest years, readily to form opinions on human conduct, and to examine public affairs. If he who was asked, "Who is the best of men?" or, "Who the worst citizen?" hesitated in his answer, this was regarded as a sign of an idle and base disposition. It was required, too, that the answer should give

the reason and the proof expressed in the fewest and best words. The boy who gave a wrong answer was punished by the Eiren, who bit the offender's thumb; this punishment was usually inflicted in the presence of the elders and magistrates, who punished the Eiren himself, after the boys were dismissed, if he had been guilty of any injustice. The honour, or the shame of the boys was shared by those who chose them as friends; it is reported, that a boy fighting with another, having uttered a cry which betrayed his want of courage, the magistrates imposed a fine upon his friend. Young girls were adopted by honourable and virtuous matrons. There was no jealousy among those who placed their affections on the same person; but, on the contrary, they united in their endeavours to perfect the education of their favourite.

24. They taught the boys to discourse in language at once pointed and graceful, with much sense, in short phrases. As Lycurgus aimed at making the Spartan money heavy and of little value, he sought, on the contrary, to make the "coin of speech" light, yet precious; by long silence, the Spartan youths were trained to speak with care, and to reply with keenness. King Agis, hearing an Athenian ridicule the shortness of the Spartan swords, which, he said, the jugglers could easily swallow on the stage, replied, "Yet, with these short swords we pierce our enemies." The language of the Spartans is, indeed, very brief; but it seems to go at once to the point, and to strike the minds of the hearers. It appears that Lycurgus himself was pithy and sententious in his sayings, so far as we may judge from those which are recorded: as this, concerning the republic, when, to one who advised him to establish democracy in Sparta, he said, "Set up democracy in thy family." This, likewise, respecting sacrifices: to one who asked him why he prescribed such small and mean offerings, he said, "That we may never fail in offerings to the deity." And that regarding combats, "forbidding those only in which the hand is stretched out," (asking quarter.) Replies of the same kind are taken from his epistles to the citizens. "How can we restrain the incursions of enemies?" "Continue poor; and let not one seek to be richer than another." And again, as to walls, "That city is not unwalled, which is surrounded by men, and not with bricks." Of these,

and other such epistles, it is not easy to say whether they are to be received or not as the productions of Lycurgus.

25. But the following short sentences show that the Spartans were enemies to long speeches. Leonidas, the king, said to a person who was discussing weighty matters at an unsuitable time, "Friend, you use a bad time for a good subject." Charilaus being asked why his uncle had made so few laws, replied, "Few laws are enough for men of few words." Archidamus replied to those who blamed Hecatæus, the sophist, for his silence at the public table, "He who knows how to speak, knows also when to speak." The following are specimens of their graceful wit. An impertinent fellow, teasing Demaratus with questions, frequently asked him, "Who is the best man among the Spartans?" To which he answered, "He who is most unlike thee." Agis said, to certain persons who were lauding the Eleans for their honour and justice at the Olympic games, "It is truly great praise, that the Eleans do right once in five years!" A foreigner, boasting to Theopompus of his love to the Spartans, said that he was called by his fellow-citizens, "Philolacon," (lover of Sparta.) "It would be well for thee, friend, if they called thee Philopolitæ," (lover of your own country.) When an Athenian orator said that the Spartans had no learning, Pleistoanax, son of Pausanias, retorted, "Thou sayest truly; for we are the only Greeks who have learned nothing bad from you." Archidamus, being asked, "How many Spartans are there?" said, "Enough, friend, to keep away bad men."

26. Their character may be learned from their jests; for they were accustomed to speak only at the right time, and then to say only what was worthy of attention. A man was invited to hear a singer imitate the nightingale: he said, "I have heard herself." Another, having read this epitaph, "They who had extinguished dire tyrannies were smitten by cruel Mars, and died before the walls of Selinus," observed, "These men deserved to die, for they should have let it all burn out." A young man, to whom some one promised game cocks that "would die fighting," replied, "Give me rather those that will kill in fighting." Another, seeing persons carried in litters on men's shoulders, said, "May I never sit there, where I cannot rise

before an elder." Such was their habit of uttering pithy sayings; so that it was not badly said, that to *Laconize* (act the Spartan) was to practise wisdom, rather than to exercise the body.

27. The Spartans attended to elegance in their Odes, not less than to purity and perfection of speech: for their poetry had a sting in it which excited and inflamed the mind with enthusiasm and ardour. The language of their songs was simple and manly, on grave and practical themes; for they either celebrated the many deeds of those who had died for Sparta, or condemned the crimes of those who fled to save a scorned and wretched life. Some of them expressed their love of glory in verses suited to different ages. In these three were choruses. The chorus of elders began by singing, "Once we *were* famous in the battle." The chorus of young men replied, "We *are* the same now; if you wish, try us." The third chorus, consisting of boys, added, "We *shall* be braver still." In their battles, the king sacrificed to the Muses: reminding the Spartans of their early training, and of the sentences that would be passed on their actions; while he sought to rouse them to brave all danger, and distinguish themselves by deeds which the Muses would delight to celebrate.

28. On such occasions, it was not uncommon to relax the rigour of discipline among the young men; for they allowed them to dress their hair with great elegance, and to ornament their clothes and weapons, rejoicing in them, as horses proudly panting for the onset. Thus, though from their entrance into manhood they took great pains with their hair, they were still more attentive to it on the field of battle, that it might appear splendid and well-arranged; remembering a sentence of Lycurgus about the hair, "that it adds to the noble appearance of the well-formed, and makes the ugly look more terrible." Their exercise was much lighter in the camp than in the city, and their mode of living less frugal and severe; so that to them alone, of all men, war was itself a season of repose from the preparations it required. When they faced the enemy, the king offered a goat in sacrifice, ordered the men to crown themselves with garlands, and directed the flute-players to raise the air of the hymn to Castor; then, beginning to sing the hymn, which was the signal for the

charge, ne marched at the head of his army. It was a grand and fearful sight, to see them all thus marching to the sound of soft music, never breaking their ranks, nor showing any sign of fear, as they went calmly and cheerfully into the thickest of dangers; for it is not likely that men who marched with so much measure and order should be seized with fear or hurried with anger. On the contrary, their courage was that of boldness and of hope. The king, at such times, had always near him one of those who had been crowned as victors in the games. It is reported of one of these victors, that he refused a large sum of money which was offered to induce him to keep back from the Olympian contests; and that, when he had thrown his antagonist with great difficulty, some one said to him, "What will you gain, Spartan, by this victory?" to which he replied, with an exulting smile, "I shall have the honour of marching before the king to battle!" When they had routed their enemies, they pursued them no further than was necessary to make the victory sure; this being gained, they retired, believing that it was neither noble, nor like a Greek, to kill a yielding foe: a custom which was as much to their advantage as their honour; for their enemies, knowing that if they resisted they would be put to the sword, and that only those who fled were spared, they generally threw themselves on their mercy, instead of provoking their revenge.

29. Hippias, the sophist, says that Lycurgus was a skilful warrior, and that he had been in many engagements; and Philostephanus ascribes to him the arrangement of the cavalry in squares of fifty. But Demetrius, of Phalerus says, that Lycurgus had no experience in war, and that he founded his government in perfect peace. In truth, the truce during the Olympic games, attributed to him, shows him to have been of a pacific disposition. Some authors, and among others Hermippus, have written, that Lycurgus did not, at first, assist Iphitus, in regulating those games; but that, happening to pass by, and having a desire to witness the contests, he heard, from behind, the voice, as of a man, who reproached him for not obliging his citizens to attend so illustrious an assembly: when he turned to see who it was that spake to him, he saw no man. He took the voice for a message from

heaven, went immediately to Iphitus, and then joined him in the regulation of that festival, which thenceforward became the most celebrated among the Greeks.

30. The education of the Spartans continued after they became men, for none was permitted to live as he chose: in the city they lived as in a camp; each man knowing what was his portion of the common stock, and what was required of him, they spent their life on the principle, that they lived not for themselves, but for their country. When they had no orders to obey, they went to see the children, either to teach, or to learn something useful. One of the most beautiful features of the institutions of Lycurgus, was the great leisure which he secured for the citizens, by forbidding them to employ themselves in any mechanical art, or in tormenting themselves to heap up useless riches. The Helotes cultivated their lands, and paid them a fixed rent. A Spartan who was at Athens at the time of the public trials, heard of a man condemned to pay a heavy fine for idleness. He asked those who accompanied the sorrowing offender, to point out to him the man who was "punished for being free:" a fact which shows how servile it was, in the opinion of a Spartan, for free men to labour for the sake of wealth. Lawsuits, it is probable, were abolished at Sparta at the same time with the use of silver coin; for they were not likely to arise in a city where there was no wealth, no poverty, where equality and frugality prevented want, where the desires of all were few and easily supplied. Their time was spent at home in manly exercises, in hunting, festivals, games, dances, and in meetings for mutual discourse; and they never went abroad, excepting when they went to war.

31. Men under thirty years of age did not attend the public meetings in the Agora, but transacted all their necessary business by their relatives or friends. Even among elder men, it was held to be discreditable to be seen much engaged in such matters of business, instead of passing their principal time in the places of exercise, or of conversation. The conversation at such meetings turned, not on affairs of traffic, but on matters relating to virtue or vice; and they were carried on with a mixture of wit and pleasantry, which instructed and corrected, while it entertained them. For Lycurgus himself was not an

austere man; Sosibius relates that he set up an elegant statue of Laughter in every hall, and blended cheerfulness with all their exercises, and all their meals. He left the citizens no desire or opportunity for living by themselves, but, like bees, to be always together, surrounding their leaders, looking out of themselves to the glory and safety of their country. Pudaretus, who was not chosen to be one of the Council of Three Hundred, returned home well content, rejoicing that "Sparta had three hundred citizens superior to himself." Peisistratidas went with other Spartans as an ambassador to the generals of the king (of Persia.) He was asked, whether they came in a private or in a public capacity? His answer was, "If we succeed in our object, we are public servants; if we fail, we are private men." Argileonis, the mother of Brasidas, was visited by some men of Amphipolis. She asked them, if Brasidas had died nobly, and as became a Spartan. They praised him highly, saying that Sparta had not such another. The Spartan mother answered, "Say not so, O strangers! Brasidas was indeed a brave man; but Sparta has yet many men that are braver than even he."

32. Lycurgus placed in the senate those who had helped him, as has been said, at the beginning. As they died, he ordered that their places should be filled up by men chosen from the best in the city, above the age of sixty. It was truly the most glorious object of human ambition, to be chosen, not as the swiftest of the swift, or the strongest of the strong, but as the best and wisest among the wise and good, to carry away, as the prize of virtue, an authority which reached to the lives, honours, and fortunes of his fellow-citizens. The election was made in the following manner: the assembly of electors being called together, a certain number of chosen men were shut up in an adjoining house, where they could neither see what was going on, nor be seen by others, but where they could hear only the shout of the assembly. The candidates passed silently through the assembly, one after another, in the order determined by lot, while the people signified their approbation of each by shouting. The persons who were shut up marked on tablets the degree of approbation with which each candidate was greeted, without knowing to whom it was given, but using a number instead of a name. The

candidate who had received the loudest and most numerous shouts of applause, was chosen as the senator. He was then crowned, and went round to all the temples, followed by a crowd of young men extolling him, and of women chaunting his praises. On his return, each of his friends gave him a repast, saying, "The city honours thee by this feast." When he had gone the round of these ceremonies, he took his place at his accustomed table, where all things went on as usual. A second portion being placed before him, he took it away. His friends among the matrons met him at the gate of the hall, as he retired from supper. There, calling on her whom he esteemed the most, he presented to her the portion which he had brought away, saying, "I give to thee the reward which I have received;" after which the other matrons led her home with honour.

33. With equal wisdom Lycurgus ordered everything relating to interments. First of all, he discouraged some hurtful superstitions by permitting the dead to be buried in the city, and not forbidding their monuments to be in the neighbourhood of the temples, that the young might be familiar with such scenes, that they might not be afraid of death, and that they might not suppose themselves polluted because they touched the dead, or passed amid their tombs. Then, he forbade anything to be interred with a body, besides the purple cloth and the olive-leaves with which it was covered. He also forbade any name to be inscribed on a tomb, except that of a man who died in war, or of a woman who died in the service of religion. He restricted the time of mourning to eleven days, to be followed, on the twelfth, by a sacrifice to Ceres. For, in their whole course of life, no time was spent idly, or in neglect of duty; but with all their employments they mingled the celebration of what they called virtue, or the condemnation of what they considered vice, filling every corner of the city with examples which, being daily before their eyes, could not fail to allure and form them to such habits as were looked upon as virtuous. The citizens were not allowed to travel at their pleasure, lest they should be infected by foreign manners, licentious ceremonies, or novel institutions. He likewise banished from the city all who came to it without some useful practicable object: not, as Thucydides says, because

he feared that strangers would copy their institutions, but because he feared that they might teach the Spartans something bad. For Lycurgus observed that strangers bring with them new habits of speech, and new habits of speech bring with them new opinions, from which necessarily arise various passions and desires, which destroy the harmony of the government, like discords in music. He thought, therefore, that it was more necessary to close the gates against bad morals than against infected bodies.

34. Thus far Plutarch defends Lycurgus from the charge against his laws, as fitted to produce a brave, but not a virtuous, people. What they called the Cryptia (if, indeed, that was an appointment of Lycurgus, as Aristotle has reported), had impressed Plato with a bad opinion both of Lycurgus and of his institutions. The Cryptia was this:—The superintendents of the young men, from time to time, selected the boldest and most cautious of their number, and sent them away provided with daggers, and necessary food only; these youths were scattered in secret places during the day, and, at night, they sallied forth into the roads, and killed all the Helotes that came in their way. Sometimes they even made these attacks on the strongest and boldest of the Helotes in the fields. As Thucydides relates in his History of the Peninsular War, the Helotes, whom the Spartans had enfranchised for their courage, made a procession, crowned as freemen, round the temples of the gods; but a short time after, they all disappeared, amounting to more than two thousand, and there was no one who could give any account of them. Aristotle says, particularly, that the Ephori when they entered on their office, declared war against the Helotes, that their murder might be called by a gentler name. There were many other respects in which they treated them with cruel wickedness. They forced them to drink strong liquor, and then brought them to the public banquet-halls, showing to the young Spartans what kind of thing drunkenness was. They made them sing disgraceful songs, and dance absurd dances, forbidding them all such songs and dances as were used by freemen. Thus we are told that when the Thebans took some Spartan slaves prisoners, and ordered them to sing the Odes of Terpander, they refused, because this was forbidden to slaves by

their masters. So that those who say that in Lacedæmonia the freeman was free to excess, and the slave slavish to excess, have not badly described the difference between them and other people. But Plutarch believes that these cruelties were not practised by the Spartans till a late period, after the great earthquake, in which the Helotes joined with the Messenians against them, committed the most ruinous outrages, and brought Sparta into the greatest peril; for he cannot impute so execrable a custom as that of the Cryptia to Lycurgus, whose gentleness and justice appeared to him in other respects so conspicuous, and so honoured by the gods.

35. When Lycurgus saw his system so engrafted on the habits of the people, that it was strong enough to preserve itself, he was ambitious, as far as possible to human foresight, to render it perpetual through all coming time. He summoned the people to an assembly. He told them that the government he had established was indeed well fitted to secure the well-being and the virtue of the state; but that the greatest and best institution he could not bring before them until he had consulted the gods. It was, therefore, necessary that the laws should be inviolate, without any change, until he should come back from Delphi; for, on his return, he engaged to put in execution what the god had ordained. They all consented. They urged him to set out on his journey. He took the oaths of the king, of the elders, and then of all the citizens, that they would abide by the laws until his return. Lycurgus then went to Delphi. Drawing nigh to the oracle, he offered sacrifice to the god, and inquired if the laws were good, and fitted to make the Spartans happy. When the oracle replied, that his laws were perfect, and that, "so long as the people observed them they would enjoy the highest felicity," he wrote down the decree and sent it to Sparta. Having repeated the sacrifice, and embraced his friends and his son, he determined never to release the Spartans from their oath, but devoted himself there to a voluntary death, as was common among even the most enlightened of the heathen. He, therefore, fasted till he died; believing that the death of statesmen should not be without its use: but that the close of their life should be reckoned as a portion of their virtue. For himself, it was his opinion

that, having served his citizens by his life, his death should crown the services by obliging them to preserve inviolate the institutions he had given them.

36. Nor was he wrong in his expectations: Sparta was the best governed state in Greece for five hundred years, during which she observed the laws of Lycurgus. But in the reign of Agis, money was introduced into Sparta, and along with it avarice and luxury. Lysander brought large sums of gold and silver from the wars in Asia. Thus the laws of Lycurgus were broken. Before that time, Sparta had been more like a well-ordered family than a well-governed state. As the poets feigned of Hercules, that with his lion's-skin and his club, he had freed the world of robbers and of tyrants, so Sparta, with a simple roll of parchments, had given law to the whole of Greece, extinguishing tyrannies, putting an end to wars, and calming seditions. Plutarch is, therefore, surprised that it ever should have been said, "The Spartans knew how to obey, but not how to command;" for a people will obey only those who are able to command; the obedience of subjects depends on the abilities of their rulers: as the perfection of the art of managing horses consists in making them gentle, so the perfection of the arts of kings is seen in rendering their subjects peaceful and submissive. The Spartans not only secured the voluntary obedience of other states, but made them desirous of being led by Spartan generals, to whom they gave all honour and obedience. The Sicilians, for example, obtained Gylippus; the Chalcidians, Brasidas; the Asiatic Greeks, Lysander, Callicrates, and Agesilaus. They looked on these Spartans as reformers; and they revered the Spartan state as the mistress of others in the arts of social life and government. This pre-eminence of the Spartans occasioned the agreeable jest of Stratonicus, who said, "Let the Athenians celebrate mysteries, and form processions; let the Eleans preside in games; and when either of them do wrong, let the Spartans be well beaten." Antisthenes, a disciple of Socrates, seeing how proud the Thebans were of their victory at Leuctra, said, "They seem like school-boys who are vain of having beaten their master." Yet, the aim of Lycurgus was not that Sparta should rule other states; but, convinced that the happiness of a state, as well as of a private man, consisted

in well-doing at home, his object was, that she should always find her resources within herself.

37. The difference between Lycurgus and such philosophers as Plato, Diogenes, and Zeno, who have written about a republic, is, that what they only described, he produced. For this reason, Aristotle thought Lycurgus had not received all the honour which was due to him, though he was more honoured than any other man of his time; for they built a temple to him, and offered to him a yearly sacrifice. It is reported that when his ashes were carried to Sparta, his tomb was struck with lightning, which the Spartans regarded as a signal proof of the divine favour towards their great legislator. As to his death, some say that he died at Cirrha. Apollothemis tells us it was at Elis; Timæus and Aristoxenus say in Crete, where his tomb was shown, in the territory of Pergamos, near to the great road. He is reported to have left an only son, named Antiorus, who, dying without children, was the last of his race. But his relations and friends formed a society which continued a long time: their days of commemoration were called Lycurgidæ. It is related by Aristocrates, son of Hipparchus, that when Lycurgus died in Crete, his friends burned his body, and cast the ashes into the sea, as he had charged them, from an apprehension that if ever they should be conveyed to Sparta, the Spartans would make that an excuse for changing their form of government.

38. We can scarcely read Plutarch's account of Lycurgus without wondering how one man could have gained such power in a state, as to bring about so great a change. And the manners and habits of the people are certainly not such as we admire. There was much more wickedness and misery among them than Plutarch's narration would lead us to suspect. Even his account, however, partial as it is, and abounding in the errors of heathenism, shows enough of what we must condemn, as contrary to the best affections of human nature, and entirely opposed to what we happily know to be the will of God.

39. The constitution of Sparta, it is believed by many learned men, was not the invention of Lycurgus, but the mode of living which suited the Dorian people, and the circumstances in which they were placed by their conquests. Lycurgus appears to have brought back an old

state of things, rather than introduced a new one. The Spartans were a nation of soldiers. The laborious work was done by slaves. They were a brave, but not a humane people. Even their women were prized rather for their hardihood, than for the purity and gentleness which are the strength and beauty of the female mind; their youths were trained to be warriors, and they were cruel by nature and by habit. The artifices ascribed by Plutarch to Lycurgus, in pretending that his laws were sanctioned by heaven, may show the miserably superstitious state of a people who could be thus deceived. We are not, perhaps, reminded so often as we ought to be, of our deep obligations to the gospel, in setting before us the living and true God, as the only object of our worship, and his inspired word, as the rule of our lives. What a contrast between Lycurgus at Sparta, and Moses in the Arabian Desert! What a still greater contrast between Lycurgus and the Founder of the Christian institutions, our Lord Jesus Christ! It is our blessedness to study His character; and the more we study it, the more deeply we are convinced that he is, indeed, the Son of God. We can rejoice in him as the Saviour, and we can feel that we are happy and safe in obeying him as our Divine Lawgiver. He came to be the sacrifice for our sins, suffering "the Just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God;" for having "himself purged our sins," He "sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high." How perfect are his laws! His institutions, as laid down by himself and by his inspired apostles, are suited to every tribe, in every climate, throughout all ages. When men are renewed by his Spirit, they become cheerfully submissive to him; they learn of him to be "meek and lowly in heart;" to be patient and self-denying; to be chaste, sober, mild; to live, not for themselves, nor for any merely human society, but for him who died for them, and rose again. It is just in proportion as his grace is experienced, and its fruits are brought forth in private and social life, that states have become really free, truly virtuous, and permanently happy. His religion purifies, exalts, and sweetens human nature; nurses those domestic endearments which the Spartans knew not; and trains up children, not to be the enemies, but the friends, of the whole human race.

LIFE OF SOLON.

B. C. 597.

1. THE ancient writers represent Solon as the son of Execestides, a descendant of Codrus, king of Athens. His mother appears to have been cousin to Peisistratus. His father having wasted his fortune on his pleasures, Solon, while yet young, became a merchant. On his return from his travels, he found the Athenians worn out by their wars with the Megaræans for the possession of the isle of Salamis. They had lately passed a law, forbidding any man, on pain of death, to propose a further attempt for the recovery of Salamis. But when Solon found that the young men were only waiting for a call to fight, he pretended that he had lost his senses. He then composed a beautiful elegy; and running out of his house, with a cap on his head, he stood on the stone from which the heralds made public proclamations, where he chaunted aloud his elegy, beginning with the words, "From Salamis I come." When he ceased, the admiration he excited was so great, that Peisistratus exhorted the citizens to take his advice. The prohibition to propose a new war was instantly recalled. War was resolved on, and Solon was chosen to conduct it. According to the received account, Solon sailed, with Peisistratus, to Colias. There he seized the women who were sacrificing to Ceres; sent a messenger advising the Megaræans in Salamis to come forthwith to Colias, and gain possession of these Athenian matrons. When Solon saw the Megaræans approach, he ordered a troop of young men to put on the dresses of the women, and to dance on the shore. The Megaræans, rushing in upon them, were cut off; and the Athenians immediately set sail for Salamis, and gained possession of the island. Such were the cruel and perfidious acts of which the Greeks of that age were guilty, and which neither Plutarch nor any other heathen writer has condemned.

2. The fame which Solon acquired by the conquest of Salamis, was increased by his energy in stirring up the states of Greece against the Cirrhæans, to vindicate the honour of the temple at Delphi. By his great authority and influence at Athens, he succeeded in quieting the dis-

turbances occasioned by the rival factions of Cylon and Megacles. When the city was alarmed by superstitious fears, the soothsayer, who consulted the entrails of the sacrificial victims, gave it out that there were some dreadful crimes in the city, for which expiation must be made. The citizens sent for Epimenides, a man skilled in the mysteries of the Greek religion, from Crete. When he came, he joined Solon in preparing the people for receiving new laws, by building temples, purifying the city, and abolishing many of their barbarous customs. For these services he refused all honours and gifts, excepting a branch of the sacred olive, which he carried with him to his own country.

3. The party disputes in Athens revived, after the troubles occasioned by the insurrection of Cylon had passed away. The Mountaineers were fierce for democracy; the Lowlanders were as fiercely bent on an oligarchy; while the people living near the sea opposed both these parties, and clamoured for a mixed form of government. The poor were so entirely in the hands of the rich, that they were determined to choose one archon, or chief magistrate, who should have authority to make a division of the lands, and settle the commonwealth, on an entirely new foundation.

4. Their choice fell upon Solon. Solon refused to become a king, though all parties desired it, and urged him to it. He repealed the severe laws of Draco, reserving the punishment of death for the crime of murder, and made new arrangements respecting money and debts. He divided the citizens into classes, according to their estates. He gave an appeal from the magistrates to the whole body of citizens. He authorized any citizen to prosecute every man who injured his neighbour. He established, or restored, the court of Areopagus, and a senate of four hundred, elected from among the four tribes of citizens. He passed a law which made it infamous for any citizen to be neuter in a time of sedition. He forbade dowries to be given in marriage. He condemned speaking ill of the dead. He laid a fine on those who reviled the living. He allowed those who had no children to leave their property to whom they pleased. He ordered that trades should be considered honourable. He made numerous regulations respecting the use of wells; the planting of trees; the sale of oil, the

reparation for damage done by beasts; the admission of foreigners to the city; the adjustment of the months; and entertainments at the cost of the public. Some of his laws respecting women and children we pass over. When his laws came to be acted on, he was asked, whether he had provided the best laws for the Athenians; to which he replied, "The best which they are capable of receiving."

5. To rid himself of the importunities of those who teased him with questions and suggestions respecting the government, he sought leave to absent himself from Athens for ten years. During his absence, he conversed with the learned priests in Egypt. From thence he sailed to Cyprus, where he enjoyed the friendship of Philocyprus, who reigned in a small city of that island, and whom he assisted in planning a new city. At the invitation of Crœsus, he is said to have visited Sardis. When he arrived, he was like a person from an inland country going to see the ocean, who mistakes great rivers for the sea; for as he passed through the court, and saw the nobles richly dressed, and attended by crowds of guards, he mistook each of them for Crœsus. When, at last, he approached the royal presence, the king was arrayed in the most dazzling splendour, glittering with gold and jewels. Solon, so far from being surprised, showed that he looked on all this pride and ostentation with contempt. When Crœsus had shown him his treasures, and his gorgeous chambers and furniture, he asked him, "Have you ever seen a happier man?" "Yes;" said Solon, "one Tellus, a plain but worthy citizen of Athens, who left excellent children behind him; and who, having lived above the want of necessary things all his days, died honourably fighting for his country." Then Crœsus asked him, "Have you known any other man happier than I am?" "Yes; Cleobis and Biton, famous for their brotherly love to each other, and for their dutiful conduct towards their mother; they drew their mother in a chariot to the temple of Juno, amid the blessings of the people. After the sacrifice, they died, in the night, without pain or sorrow." Crœsus, highly displeased, said, "Then do you not number me in the rank of happy men?" Solon's last words to him were these: "King of Lydia, as God has given the Greeks a moderate share of other things, he has favoured them with a wise and liberal spirit, which cares

little for the grandeur of royalty. We are not elated by any good fortune which is liable to change. He whom Heaven blesses with success at last is esteemed by us as the happy man. But while a man lives, with the dangers of life before him, he appears to us like a champion, whose combat is not over, and to whom the crown is still uncertain." Æsop was then at the court of Crœsus, and much caressed. He said to Solon, "A man should either not converse with kings, or say that which is agreeable to them." Nay;" rejoined Solon, "he should say what is useful to them."

6. Crœsus was afterwards defeated by Cyrus, who took him prisoner, and captured his city. He was laid on a pile, to be burned to death. In the presence of Cyrus and the Persian conquerors, he called out loudly, "Solon! Solon! Solon!" Cyrus asked him, "What god or man do you thus call upon in your calamity?" "He is one of the wise men of Greece," Crœsus answered, "for whom I sent, that he might see my glory and spread my fame, that fame and glory which were only outward, and resting on opinion, but the loss of which now plunges me into real sufferings. That great man foresaw this. He advised me to look to the end of life, and not to rely for happiness upon uncertainties." Cyrus, who was a wiser man than Crœsus, seeing Solon's maxim confirmed by this example, set Crœsus at liberty, and befriended him as long as he lived. Thus it was Solon's glory to save one king, and to teach another.

7. While Solon was away, the Athenians were still disturbed by the disputes of the old parties;* for though they kept the new laws, they were all expecting to gain by the changes which were made. The Lowlanders were headed by Lycurgus; the Borderers on the sea by Megacles; and the Mountaineers by Peisistratus. Solon returned, and was received by all with great respect and veneration. But he had now become old, and unable to speak or act as in former times. He had recourse in private to the heads of the contending parties, endeavouring to bring them to an agreement. Peisistratus paid more attention than the others to the counsels of Solon. He had a popular and attractive manner, was liberal to the poor, and treated even his enemies with candour. By counterfeiting the good qualities

* For an account of these parties, see the History of Greece, "Educational Series," p. 36, *et seq.*, published by the Religious Tract Society.

which he had not, he gained more credit than those who really possessed them, and he imposed on the people by an appearance of equity and moderation, of respect for the established government, and of a dislike to change. Solon saw into his true character. He did what he could to advise and restrain him, believing that if he were cured of his ambition for absolute power, there could not be a worthier citizen or a better man.

8. In those days, Thespis began to improve the form of tragedy, and drew many spectators by the novelty of his performance. Solon, willing to learn, and not averse to the entertainments of poetry and music, went to see the exhibition of Thespis. When it was over, he called for Thespis, and said to him, "Are you not ashamed to tell so many lies before so great an assembly?" "It is no great matter," said Thespis, "since I only speak or act in jest." "If we encourage such jesting as this," said Solon, striking the ground violently with his staff, "we shall soon have it in our contracts and agreements."

9. When Peisistratus appeared in Athens with the wounds which he pretended to have received from his enemies on account of his patriotism, and thus aroused the indignation of the multitude, Solon said to him, "Son of Hippocrates, you act Homer's Ulysses but very indifferently; for he wounded himself to deceive his enemies; but you have done it, to deceive your own countrymen." He opposed, with many arguments, the appointment of a body-guard for Peisistratus; but, when he saw that the poor were bent on gratifying him, and that the rich were afraid to oppose them, he retired, declaring, that he had shown more wisdom than the poor, in seeing the right way of proceeding, and more courage than the rich, who had not the spirit to oppose a tyrant. Old as he was, he still appeared in public, sometimes reproaching the citizens for their folly and cowardice, and sometimes encouraging them to make a stand for their liberty. "It would have been easier," he said, "to repress the beginnings of tyranny; but to abolish it would be more glorious." Finding that he could not prevail, he returned to his house, and placed his weapons at his door, saying, "I have done all I could to defend my country and her laws." This was his last effort for the public good. Yet he remained in Athens,

making verses full of stinging reproaches against the Athenians, for betraying their rights into the hands of tyrants. This conduct alarmed his friends, who, fearing that the tyrant would put him to death, asked him to what he trusted, in going to such incautious lengths? His answer was, "To old age."

10. Peisistratus fully established his own authority in the government of Athens. He paid great respect to Solon and to his laws. When he was himself accused of murder before the court of Areopagus, he appeared with the humility of an ordinary citizen, and defended himself with modesty; but the prosecutor dropped the action. He introduced a new law,—That when men were maimed in war, they should be maintained at the public expense. By passing a law against idleness, he secured greater order in the city, and more industry in the country.

11. Solon was a poet as well as legislator. He began a fabulous description of the isle of Atlas, and the wars of the Athenians with its inhabitants; but he did not live to finish it. Plato, who was descended from Solon's brother, afterwards took up the same subject for a poem; but he also left it unfinished. As the temple of Jupiter Olympius was the only one in Athens left incomplete, so "the Atlantic Island" was the only work of Plato which he left imperfect.—How long Solon lived after Peisistratus usurped the government is uncertain. The story of his ashes being scattered in the isle of Salamis seems to be fabulous, though it is related by Aristotle, and several others.

12. The character of Solon differs much from that of Lycurgus. They went on very different grounds in drawing up their laws. Solon's object was, clearly, to have such institutions as suited the Athenian people, and the circumstances in which they lived; and they were rather the consequence of the state of their society, than the inventions of the mind of Solon. It ought to be observed, that in the comparatively small states of Greece, much was done by laws of the state, which is now better secured, in professedly Christian countries, by the influence of personal and domestic religion. The more the religion of the New Testament is embraced and followed, the surer is the foundation of national union and peace. The gospel represents all as equally needing the grace of God; it invites all men

to seek that grace; it leads those who truly believe to act in the spirit of Christ; and, in these inestimable blessings, it sets before us the strongest and tenderest motives to brotherly love, to integrity, to all the virtues, indeed, which adorn humanity. While it forbids selfishness, and opens the heart to the entire human race, it is the best nurse of patriotism. As Solon is believed to have benefited the Athenians by softening their mutual animosities, and by giving them good regulations for their life and manners, so every Christian is, in a far higher degree, a lover of his country, and a blessing to it, by promoting good will and peace.—Let it be always remembered, that ignorance is a disgrace, and that indolence is a sin. To do the work of our own calling is the best preservative from a large portion of the miseries of the world. To deserve a good name is not, in itself, a sufficient motive for our conduct; yet we ought so to act as to enjoy the esteem and confidence of those who know us, for this gives us an influence which may be happily used for the good of many. Thus Solon, by the acknowledged weight of his character, acquired more power than all the other men in Athens; and he was able to moderate even the tyranny which he could neither prevent, nor induce the people to destroy.

LIFE OF ARISTEIDES.

B. C. 481.

1. Aristeides, son of Lysimachus, was of the tribe of Antiochus, in Athens. Different accounts are given of his condition; but it is generally believed that he was poor. He was intimately connected with Cleisthenes, the restorer of the popular government in Athens, after the expulsion of the Tyrants; but, at the same time, he entertained a profound veneration for the memory of Lycurgus, the Spartan legislator; he made him his model in politics; he was consequently a favourer of aristocracy, and always opposed to Themistocles, the leader of the democratic party. Aristeides and Themistocles, it is reported, had been trained together from their infancy; and in their

earliest years their very sports displayed the opposition of their tempers:—Themistocles being subtle, bold, intriguing; but Aristeides firm in adhering to what he believed to be just, and incapable, apparently, of disguise or flattery.

2. Themistocles gained friends by the popularity of his manners. One day, some person said to him that he would govern the Athenians perfectly, if he maintained a just equality, without leaning to one man more than another: he replied, "It shall never be better with my friends than with strangers." Aristeides, on the contrary, pursued a course entirely peculiar to himself, neither committing injustice to gratify his friends, nor always refusing to grant them favours. Seeing that the support of friends often tempted rulers to abuse their power, he fortified himself against all that kind of influence, always avowing that a good citizen should maintain his standing by simply advising and doing what is just. As Themistocles abounded in rash enterprises, and set himself in opposition to those of Aristeides, the latter felt bound to oppose the former, not for purposes of self-defence only, but also to lessen the dangerous power which the favour of the people was throwing into his rival's hands; for Aristeides believed that it was better for the republic sometimes to sacrifice a real advantage, than to suffer Themistocles by any means to become the absolute master of Athens. Hence it came to pass that, on one occasion, though Themistocles proposed something that was really beneficial, Aristeides succeeded in defeating him; but in returning from the assembly, he said, "The Athenians will never prosper until they have cast both Themistocles and me into the *barathrum*," (or pit into which the condemned were thrown.) On another occasion, Aristeides himself had carried a decree against a strong opposition; but when the president was on the point of putting it to the vote of the assembly, Aristeides reflected on some of the inconveniences which would follow, and which had been urged by his opponents, and he withdrew it of his own accord. Not infrequently, he employed other persons to submit his plans to the assembly, that they might not be frustrated by the jealousy of Themistocles towards himself.

3. Aristeides was most admired for his firmness and constancy in those unforeseen changes which arise in

public affairs; he was neither elated by the honours he received, nor cast down by failure; but maintained his equanimity, as a man who knew that he ought to serve his country without regard to his own wealth and glory. A tragedy of Æschylus—the Seven Chiefs against Thebes—was acted before the Athenians; the verses in praise of Amphiaraus—

> 'To be, and not to seem just, was this man's wish,
> Having in his mind a spring from whence wise counsels flow"—

were no sooner uttered, than the eyes of all were, at once, turned to Aristeides. Thus his reputation for justice disarmed not only the solicitations of friends, but the resentment of enemies. When prosecuting one of his enemies, he saw that the judges were about to pronounce in his own favour; without hearing the defence of the accused, he cast himself at their feet, and prayed them not to deprive the man of the privilege which the laws had given him. As he sat in judgment on a cause between two private persons, one of them said that his adversary had done much injury to Aristeides: Aristeides interrupted him by saying, "My friend, speak only of what he has done to you; I am judging your cause, not mine."

4. As soon as Aristeides became treasurer-general of Athens, he brought forward proof that his predecessors in that office, (Themistocles especially,) had robbed the state of large sums; for this reason, when Aristeides rendered his accounts, Themistocles raised a party against him, and caused him to be fined for peculation. But the principal citizens so strongly opposed this unrighteous judgment, that the fine was remitted, and he was re-appointed to the office for the following year. He now publicly changed his mode of acting. He winked at the plunder of the public treasure; he passed lightly over the accounts; and, by this injustice, he so ingratiated himself with the dishonest servants of the state, that they made a strong party among the citizens, and induced them to consent to his holding the office for yet another year. On the day of election, as the people were about to give their suffrages for him, Aristeides arose, and addressed them in this cutting manner:—"When I administered your affairs with the fidelity and vigilance that became a good man, I was prosecuted as a criminal; but

to-day, after I have abandoned your property to public robbers, I am lauded as the best of citizens! I declare to you that I am more ashamed of the honour which you do me now, than I was of your sentence against me last year. I am indignant at seeing that with you, it is a more glorious thing to gratify bad men, than to guard the property of Athens." By these artful words he exposed and silenced those who had eagerly promoted his election, and carried with him the support of the best of the Athenians.

5. The king of Persia sent Datis with his whole naval force, avowedly to chastise the Athenians for burning Sardis, but, in reality, with the intention of conquering Greece. When the Persians arrived at the coast of Marathon, and were laying waste the neighbouring country, the Athenians appointed ten generals for the war; of these, the first in authority was Miltiades, and the second was Aristeides. In the council of war, there was much difference of opinion. Miltiades was for giving battle to the Barbarians; and Aristeides contributed not a little towards carrying this decision. As the ten Athenian generals commanded day by day in turn, when Aristeides' turn came he resigned it to Miltiades, showing to his colleagues how honourable and safe it is to submit to the orders of wise men. By this example, he allayed the strifes of jealousy, secured concurrence in the measures of the most experienced, and strengthened the hands of Miltiades, on whom the entire and undivided authority devolved, by the consent of all the rest.

6. In the battle of Marathon, the greatest pressure was on those Athenian tribes to which Themistocles and Aristeides belonged; and these chiefs, emulating each other, drove the Persians to their ships. But when the Greeks saw that the Barbarians, instead of retreating towards the islands on their return to Asia, were driven by the currents and the winds towards the interior sea of Attica, they feared lest Athens should be without defenders; and they marched, with nine tribes, so rapidly that they reached Athens, forty miles distant, the same day. Aristeides was left at Marathon with only his own tribe, to guard the prisoners and the booty. He justified the confidence which had been placed in him; for, while gold and silver were scattered through the Persian camp, and the tents and the galleys they had left behind

them in their flight were filled with every variety of magnificent possessions, Aristeides neither touched them himself, nor allowed them to be touched by others. With all his vigilance, however, he could not entirely prevent secret plunder. Callias, a torch-bearer, was met in a retired place by one of the Persians, who, seeing his long hair bound with a fillet, took him perhaps for a king, prostrated himself before him, and then, taking him by the right hand, led him to a well, into which a great quantity of gold had been thrown. Callias showed himself to be as cruel as he was dishonest; for, not content with appropriating the treasure, he killed the stranger on the spot, that he might not betray him.

7. The year after the battle of Marathon, Aristeides was chosen as the first archon of Athens. Of his virtues, that which was best known and most generally admired, was his justice; for, according to Plutarch, it is that virtue which is most practical, and the fruits of which are most widely spread. Though a poor man, of ordinary birth, he was surnamed the Just,—a title of which Plutarch speaks as truly royal, and even divine, but which none of the kings or tyrants before that time had assumed; they chose rather to be called Takers of Cities, Thunderers, Conquerors; some of them, indeed, took delight in being called Eagles and Vultures, preferring the empty honours of titles expressing force and power, to the glory of such as designated moral qualities.

8. The title of Aristeides the Just, secured, at first, the respect and love of men; but, at last, it provoked envy. Themistocles spread a report that Aristeides was abolishing all the tribunals, and, by drawing the decision of all causes into his own hands, was gradually building up a monarchy, though without the pomp of guards. The Athenians, naturally proud, and elated by their recent victory over the Persians, believed themselves worthy of all honour, desired that everything should depend on their authority, and could not bear to see one man enjoying a higher reputation than the rest. They, therefore, assembled all Attica, and banished Aristeides by the *ostracism*.

9. By the form of the ostracism, the Athenians disguised, under the fair name of hatred to tyranny, their envy of the glory of Aristeides. The ostracism was not so much the punishment of crime, as a mode of checking the power of

citizens who were thought to be too great: it was a vent for the relief of envy towards the prosperous; a decent form by which any citizen who disliked a public man might testify his displeasure, by voting that he be banished for ten years. Each citizen took a piece of earthenware or a shell, wrote on it the name of the person he wished to banish, and carried it to a place appointed for that purpose. When the shells were counted by the magistrates, if they were fewer than six thousand, they were of no effect; when they were more than that number, the man whose name was found on the largest number of shells, was banished, without forfeiting his property, for ten years. On the occasion of the banishment of Aristeides, it is said that while the citizens were occupied with writing the names, an ignorant man from one of the villages, taking Aristeides for an ordinary person, asked him to write the name of Aristeides for him on his shell. Aristeides asked him, with some surprise, "Has Aristeides done you any wrong?" He answered, "No: I do not even know the man; but I am tired of hearing him everywhere called Aristeides the Just." Without any remark, Aristeides wrote the name, and returned the shell. When he was banished, he raised his hands to heaven, as he left the city, and prayed—very unlike Achilles—"that the Athenians might never be compelled to remember Aristeides."

10. Three years after his banishment, when Xerxes was approaching Attica, Aristeides was recalled, because the Athenians feared lest he should join their enemies, and draw after him a large body of the citizens. But they misjudged him: he had, already, though under their ban, been exhorting the Greeks to defend their liberty; and after the decree for his recall, he went to aid Themistocles, the general, with his counsel and service, raising the glory of his greatest enemy for the sake of the republic. Eurybiades, the chief commander, had resolved to leave Salamis. In the night, the Persian fleet had blockaded them within the straits without their being aware. With great difficulty Aristeides passed by the Persian fleet from Ægina during the night, and sought Themistocles in his tent. When they were alone, Aristeides said, "Themistocles, if we are wise, let us lay aside our vain and childish strife, and contend only for the safety of Greece—you by commanding, I by

obeying. I learn that you have advised that the Persians should be attacked in the straits without delay, but that the allies are opposed to you. The enemy is proving that yours is the right advice; for they have covered the passages with their ships; so that without conquering them there is no escape." Themistocles answered, "I am ashamed, Aristeides, that you should have the advantage of proposing this generous emulation. I will spare no effort to surpass you." He then explained to Aristeides his plan for deceiving the Persians; and he intreated him to go to Eurybiades, with whom he had more influence than himself, and to show him that there was no safety for the Greeks but by fighting the enemy at Salamis. In the council of war which was held, Cleocritus, the Corinthian, said to Themistocles, "Your plan does not please Aristeides; for he is silent." But Aristeides answered him, "You are mistaken; I should not have been silent if Themistocles had not proposed what is best; but I am now silent, not from dislike to the man, but because I approve of his advice." The same day, Aristeides observed that the little island of Psyttalia, between Salamis and the Piræus, was covered with Persian troops; he landed there with some of the bravest of his fellow-citizens, and cut to pieces all the Barbarians, with the exception of the most distinguished, whom he made prisoners; among these were the three young princes, whom Themistocles sacrificed to Bacchus Omnestes. He then placed garrisons round the island, to keep a look out for all that might be thrown there, by the heat of the battle, or by the violence of the sea. Thus he saved the allies, and destroyed the enemy; for the battle raged most fiercely around that island, as he had foreseen: it was on that island that the Greeks raised their trophy of victory.

11. After the battle of Salamis, Themistocles said to Aristeides, "We have performed a great exploit; but a greater still remains: that is, to conquer Asia in Europe, by sailing with all speed to the Hellespont, and breaking down the bridge which Xerxes has left for his retreat." Aristeides exclaimed against this, and said, "We ought rather to do all we can to chase him away from Greece, lest, seeing himself shut up at the head of such a large armament, he should fight against us with the courage of

despair." Themistocles then despatched a second secret messenger to Xerxes, assuring him that he was making his best exertions to keep the Greeks from going to destroy the bridge which he had left at Hellespont, and that he sent this intelligence as a proof of his desire to serve him. Xerxes, alarmed at the probable danger, lost no time in returning with his fleet to Asia, leaving three hundred thousand of his best troops behind him, under the come mand of Mardonius.

12. Mardonius, finding himself at the head of so large an army, wrote threatening epistles to the Greeks. "You have conquered landsmen on the sea; but, in Thessaly and Bœotia, there are wide plains where we will meet you." He also proposed to the Athenians, in the name of the king, that, if they would abandon their allies, he would restore their city, enrich them with gold and silver, and make them the masters of all Greece. The Spartans, hearing of these proposals, sent ambassadors to the Athenians, praying them to send their wives and their children to Sparta, and to accept from them what was necessary for the support of their aged men. To this request, the Athenians sent an answer, by a decree of Aristeides, which has been greatly admired: "We could forgive our enemies for thinking that anything could be bought with gold and silver, for the Barbarians know of nothing better than riches; but we are indignant that the Spartans should look only at the poverty and distress to which Athens was reduced, and, forgetting the virtue and magnanimity of the Athenians, could imagine that the offer of food would be the grand motive for keeping them in the league, and obliging them to fight for the liberty of the Greeks." When this answer was written in the decree, the ambassadors of Persia, and those of Sparta, were introduced to the council. To those from Sparta Aristeides said, "There is not gold enough on earth, nor under the earth, to bribe the Athenians to abandon the liberty of Greece." To the Persians he said, "As long as yonder sun shines, the Athenians will war with the Persians, for the lands they have wasted, and the temples they have profaned and burned." He, moreover, ordained that the priests should curse the man who dared to propose alliance with the Persians, or to abandon the common cause of Greece.

13. A second time Mardonius invaded Attica. The

Athenians returned, therefore, to Salamis. They sent Aristeides to Sparta, to complain of their negligence in abandoning Athens once more to the Barbarians, and to exhort them to march without delay for the preservation of what remained of Greece. The magistrates of Sparta appeared to give but little heed to the discourse of Aristeides, for they were spending the day in celebrating the festival of Hyacinthia; but in the night they sent off five thousand Spartans, each accompanied by seven Helotes. When, therefore, Aristeides renewed his complaint, they made themselves merry, saying, "You must awake from your sleep; our army is already thirty miles on the road, against the foreigners." Aristeides replied, "This is no time for mocking, or deceiving their allies instead of the enemy." Such are the particulars given by Idomeneus; but in the decree of Aristeides he is not named ambassador, but Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides.

14. For the battle which was now expected with the Persians, the Athenians appointed Aristeides as their general, and he marched with eight thousand infantry to Platæa, where he was joined by Pausanias, the commander-in-chief, with the Spartan troops; the rest of the Grecians came up from day to day. The Persian army occupied a long tract of ground by the river Asopus, and their baggage and most precious stores were laid up in a large square, which was walled. Tisamenus, an Elean diviner in the Grecian camp, told Pausanias that he would be sure of the victory, if he remained on the defensive. Aristeides was sent to consult the oracle at Delphi. He received this response: "The Greeks will have the advantage, provided that they have made vows to Jupiter, to Juno, to Pan, and to the Sphragitidian nymphs; that they sacrifice to the heroes, Andocrates, Leucon, Pisander, Damocrates, Hypsion, Archæon, and Polidius; and that they do not venture to fight excepting in their own country, on the land of Ceres and Proserpine of Eleusis." This response threw Aristeides into great perplexity. The heroes to whom the sacrifices were to be offered, were the ancestors of the Platæans, and the cave of the Sphragitides was in one of the heights of Cithæron: while, on the other hand, the promise of victory, on condition of fighting in their own country, seemed to require that the scene of war

should be transferred to Attica. The Platæan general, Arimnestus, had a dream:* Jupiter Soter appeared to him, asking, "What have the Greeks resolved to do?" He replied, "To-morrow we shall remove to Eleusis, and fight the Barbarians, according to the oracle of Apollo." Jupiter then told him, "The place of which the oracle speaks is near Platæa; and if you seek, you will find it." When Arimnestus awoke from his dream, he conferred with the elders of his city. They discovered that not far from the foot of Mount Cithæron there was an ancient temple, called the temple of the Eleusinian Ceres and Proserpine. They told this to Aristeides, and conducted him to the place, which proved to be advantageous ground for an army deficient in cavalry, as the bottom of the mount, reaching to the temple, thus prevented the approach of horsemen. In this same place, too, was the chapel of Androcrates, covered with bushes, and thickly planted. To make the conditions of the oracle complete, Arimnestus persuaded the Platæans, for the sake of their common country, to assign these lands to the Athenians. Many years after, Alexander, the conqueror of Asia, ordered the walls of Platæa to be rebuilt, and proclaimed at the Olympic games, that he restored their city to the Platæans, to reward their generosity to the Athenians, in the Persian war.

15. In arranging the plan of the battle, a serious dispute arose between the Athenians and the Tegeatæ. The Tegeatæ held that, as the Spartans formed the right wing, the left belonged to them, alleging the merits of their ancestors and their own. The Athenians rejected this claim with indignation; but Aristeides came forward and said, "This is not the time to discuss with the Tegeatæ the merits of their ancestors. We are content with saying to you, the Spartans, and all the other Greeks, it is not the post which gives or takes away men's courage; wherever you place us we will do our duty, and not dishonour our past achievements. We come to fight, not our allies, but our enemies; not to boast of our fathers, but to emulate them. This day

* We have generally omitted Plutarch's reports of dreams; though it has been thought desirable not to pass them over entirely. It is scarcely necessary to say, that they belong to an age of ignorance and superstition, which we ought to regard with pity, while we are thankful for the superior light, which God has given us in the gospel of his Son.

will declare the true worth of every city, of every general, of every man." Having heard these words, the officers of the council awarded the left wing to the Athenians.

16. While all Greece was awaiting in suspense the issue of this battle, the affairs of Athens were placed in the greatest jeopardy. Many of the noblest and richest of their citizens, seeing that with the loss of their property they had also lost their dignity and influence in the state, and that others were now occupying their places, held secret meetings at Platæa, where they were conspiring against the popular government in Athens, determined, if they failed in this, to abandon the whole of Greece to the Barbarians. Aristeides, at first, scarcely knew what steps to take: at length he resolved on neither neglecting so important a matter, nor investigating it too closely, as he knew not how many persons might be involved. He looked to the public safety, and refrained from proceeding to extremities with the guilty. Only eight of the whole number were arrested; and of these, only Æschines and Agesias, the most deeply implicated, were proceeded against: even these made their escape from the camp. To the rest he gave the opportunity of altering their views, reminding them that the battle would prove whether they had always followed counsels which tended to the public service.

17. Mardonius, whose strength lay in his cavalry, ordered them to begin a skirmish with the Greeks. All the Greeks were encamped on stony places, at the foot of the mountain, except three thousand Megareans, who, being on the plain, and unable to cope with the Persian cavalry, sent to Pausanias for help. Pausanias knew that his heavy-armed Spartans would not be suitable for acting against cavalry; he therefore appealed to the officers about him, that they might offer, of their own accord, to go to the help of the Megareans. When the greater part held back, Aristeides proposed that the Athenians should go on this service, and committed it to Olympiodorus, one of his ablest officers, with three hundred men, and a body of archers. In a moment they were prepared. Masistius, the Persian general of cavalry, seeing them march forward, immediately engaged them. After a long conflict, anxiously watched by both armies, Masistius' horse was wounded, and threw his rider. The weight of his armour made the general unable to rise.

The Athenians gathered round him with the intention of slaying him; but his legs and arms, as well as his head and his body, were covered with plates of iron, brass, or gold; part of his face, however, being exposed by his upraised vizor, an Athenian pierced him to death with the staff of his javelin.—The Persians left the body of their general and fled. The great advantage thus gained by the Athenians was not seen in the number of the slain: for but few were left on the field, but in the lamentations of the Barbarians; for they cut off their hair, cropped the manes of their mules and horses, and filled the camp with cries, groans, and tears, for the death of Masistius, who was only second in valour and authority to Mardonius himself.

18. The armies continued inactive for a long time, as both were alike assured by their diviners that victory would be on the side of those who acted only in defence; while the entrails of the inspected victims threatened the ruin of the assailants. At last, Mardonius saw that, while he had but a few days' provisions, the Greeks were reinforced from day to day. He became impatient of the delay which weakened his position, made up his mind to take the Greeks by surprise in the dawn of the morning, and gave orders, on the previous night, to his officers, to be prepared to cross the Asopus. At midnight, a horseman silently approached the Grecian camp, and desired the sentinels to conduct him to Aristeides, the Athenian general. Aristeides came quickly to him, when the stranger said:—"I am Alexander, king of the Macedonians. My friendship for you has induced me to risk the greatest danger, to prevent your being taken by surprise. Mardonius will attack you in the morning, not that he has grounds for expecting success, but because his provisions are failing; and, though the diviners are attempting to detain him, he is forced either to hazard a battle, or to see his whole army perish for want." Having thus spoken, he begged Aristeides to act on his secret, but to keep it from others. Aristeides told him that he could not well keep it from Pausanias, the commander of the army, but that he would not speak of it to any other person before the battle; and he added, that if the Greeks should conquer, there was not a man among them who would not remember his disinterested zeal in exposing himself to so much danger on their behalf. Alexander returned to his own camp;

Aristeides repaired to the tent of Pausanias, and told him what he had heard. At once the Grecian officers were ordered to prepare for the combat. Meanwhile, Herodotus says, Pausanias informed Aristeides that he intended to remove the Athenians to the right wing, where they would oppose the Persians with the more confidence, after having defeated them, reserving for himself the left wing to meet the Greeks who had joined the Persians. The Athenian officers were disposed to resent the conduct of Pausanias in moving them about according to his pleasure, while others retained their posts, but Aristeides remonstrated with them. "A few days ago," he said, "you disputed with the Tegeatæ the command of the left wing, and having gained it, you felt it to be an honour; to-day, the Spartans cede to you the right wing—in fact the command of the army—yet you are insensible of the honour, and you lose sight of the great advantage of fighting, not against men of your own blood, but against your natural enemies the Barbarians." The Athenians no longer hesitated; changing posts with the Spartans, they cheered each other with mutual exhortations. "Our enemies," they said, "have neither better arms nor bolder hearts than they had when we defeated them at Marathon: their bows, their gaudy vestments, their ornaments of gold, their feeble bodies, and their dastardly minds, are the same; but we, with the same arms and the same bodies as they, are braver for our victories, and we fight, not as they do, for a territory or a city only, but for the trophies of Marathon and Salamis, that we may show that these were not the work of Miltiades and of Fortune, but of the Athenians."

19. Thus inspiriting each other, the Athenians proceeded to their new post. But the Thebans, apprized of this change by some deserters, told Mardonius, who constantly changed the order of battle, either because he feared the Athenians, or because he was ambitious of engaging the Spartans. Pausanias, hearing of this, went back to the first arrangement; but Mardonius made a corresponding change, still fronting the Spartans, so that the day passed without anything being done. In the evening, the Greeks determined on removing to a more commodious encampment, as their waters were disturbed and defiled by the tramp of the Persian cavalry. The march to the new encampment

was disorderly, many of the men ran to the city of Platæa; everything was in confusion, the disbanded troops pitching their tents where they pleased, without any regularity or discipline. In this general derangement, the Spartans were left behind by themselves. Amompharetus, their general, a man of great courage, disgusted with delay, openly mourned the removal of the camp as a disgraceful flight, and declared that he would not quit his post, but would remain to resist the attack of Mardonius. Pausanias reminded him that he ought to obey the resolution of the Grecian council; but Amompharetus, flinging with both hands a great stone at Pausanias' feet, exclaimed:—"That is my vote for battle; I scorn the resolutions of that fine council." Pausanias, at a loss how to act, sent to the Athenians, who were in advance, to wait for him, that they might march in one body, and with the rest of his troops he held on his way to Platæa, hoping that Amompharetus would be induced to follow him. When the day dawned, Mardonius, knowing that the Greeks had left their position, brought his whole army on the Spartans, with the shouts of men who were pursuing fugitives rather than marching to a battle. Pausanias, indeed, perceiving the movement of Mardonius, gave orders for every officer and soldier to be at his post; but either angry with Amompharetus, or surprised by the sudden attack of the Persians, he had forgotten to give the pass-word to the army, so that they were not in proper condition, but broken up into small and straggling parties even after the battle had commenced. Pausanias himself was offering sacrifices; finding that the omens were unfavourable, he ordered the Spartans to lay down their shields, and to remain passive, while he continued to observe the victims, although the enemy had advanced so near that many of them were wounded by their arrows. Among the wounded was Callicrates, the tallest and handsomest man in the whole army; this brave officer, pierced with an arrow, and about to breathe his last, said that he was not sorry to die, for he had left his house to give his life for the safety of Greece; but that it was a grief to him to die without having drawn his sword, and proved his courage and devotion. Terrible as the occasion was, the firmness of the Spartans was admirable, for without resisting the attacks of their assailants they waited for the moment which they believed was fixed

by heaven for taking up their arms, patiently suffering themselves to be wounded, and even killed, where they sat.

20. Pausanias was gazing anxiously on the victims, and as the diviner failed in obtaining a favourable omen, he turned with prayers and tears and uplifted hands to the temple of Juno, beseeching the imaginary goddess, and the tutelary deities of the Platæans, that, if the Greeks were not destined to conquer, they might at least not perish without selling their lives dearly, nor without showing their enemies with what valiant men they had to fight. Just as he finished his prayer, the omens were said to be auspicious, and the priest declared that victory was at hand. In a moment, the order for attack was given throughout the army, while the Spartan phalanx stood in one body like a fierce animal panting for battle. The Persians soon saw that they had to deal with men who would fight till they died; covering themselves with their broad targets, they discharged their arrows against the Spartans; but the Spartans marching in close order, tore the targets from the Persians, and with their pikes brought them to the ground. Plutarch relates that as the Persians fell, they grasped the pikes of the Spartans with their naked hands, and broke them: then they rose, and with their battle-axes and swords rushed into close combat.

21. During this time, the Athenians were at rest, waiting for the Spartans; but when they heard the noise of battle, and received a message from Pausanias, they hastened to join him. As they crossed the plain, they encountered the Thebans and other Greeks who were adherents of the Persians. As soon as Aristeides saw them, he called on them in the name of all the gods of Greece not to oppose the Athenians in going to the help of those who were the first to expose their lives for the safety of their country. These Greeks heeded not, but pressed on against them. Therefore, Aristeides, instead of continuing his march towards Pausanias, fell upon them with his whole force. They were about five thousand; but they soon gave way and retreated, when they heard that the Persian ranks were broken. Three hundred of them, all persons of distinction, were slain.

22. The Spartans routed the Persians: Mardonius himself was killed by Arimnestus, a Spartan, who crushed his head with a stone. The fugitives were followed by the

Spartans to their camp, where they besieged them. The Athenians left the pursuit of the Thebans, and went to help the Spartans. Finding the Spartans made but slow progress in a work to which they were little accustomed, they attacked the fortifications of the camp with all their might, and took it with great slaughter of the enemy. Of three hundred thousand in the Persian army, only forty thousand escaped with Artabazus; while of the Greeks, who fought for their country, it is said not more than thirteen hundred and sixty fell, of whom fifty-two were Athenians, ninety-one Spartans, and sixteen Tegeatæ. It is astonishing that Herodotus should say that no other Greeks than these were engaged in this battle; for the numbers of the enemy slain, and of the tombs, suffice to prove that this great victory was the exploit of the united Greeks. If only these three states had been engaged, while the rest were idle, this inscription would not have been engraved on the altar which was raised in commemoration of the victory:—"The Greeks, having driven the Persians from their country, and gained a signal victory over them by their arms, have dedicated this altar to the common liberty of Greece, in honour of Jupiter the Deliverer."

23. After this great victory, the Athenians would not yield the prize of valour to the Spartans, nor allow them to erect a trophy; and they would probably have gone to the greatest extremities if Aristeides had not succeeded in calming the minds of the other generals, especially Leocrates and Myronides, and prevailed on them to submit the question to the judgment of the assembled Greeks. Theogeiton of Megara said that the prize must be adjudged neither to Athens nor to Sparta, but to some third city, if they would avoid a civil war more dreadful than that which had just ceased. After him, Cleocritus of Corinth rose to speak, every one expecting that he was about to claim the prize for Corinth, which was next in power and dignity to Athens and Sparta: but, to the agreeable surprise of all, his discourse was in praise of the Platæans; and he concluded by saying that the prize ought to be given to them, as neither of the other cities could be jealous of them. His discourse was greatly admired and applauded. Aristeides at once adopted the suggestion on behalf of the Athenians; and, after him, Pausanias consented to it, for the Spartans. Before they

divided the spoil, eighty talents were awarded to the Platæans, who expended them on a temple and a statue to Minerva, and in the enrichment of the temple with beautiful paintings, which long remained as fresh as when they left the hand of the artist. The Athenians erected one trophy, and the Spartans another; and having joined in a message to consult the oracle at Delphi respecting the sacrifice they should offer, they received for answer,—"that they should build an altar to Jupiter the Deliverer; but that they should refrain from offering any sacrifice till all the fire in the country was extinguished, because it had been profaned by the Barbarians, and pure fire was brought from the altar of Greece at Delphi." The officers went all over Greece to see that every fire was extinguished. Euchidas of Platæa, proceeded to Delphi, purified himself with the sacred water, crowned his head with laurel, reverently took fire from the altar, and returned with it to Platæa, before the setting of the sun,—having performed a journey of a thousand furlongs in the day. When he arrived, he saluted his fellow-citizens, delivered the sacred fire to them, and then fell dead at their feet. The Platæans buried him in the temple of Diana Eudeia, and inscribed on his tomb—"Here lies Euchidas, who went to Delphi and returned in one day."

24. In the first general assembly of the Greeks after the victory of Platæa, Aristeides proposed a decree, that all the Grecian cities should send deputies to Platæa every year, to sacrifice to the deities of that city;—that every fifth year they should celebrate the games of freedom; that Greece should raise ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and a hundred ships, to war with the Barbarians; and that the Platæans should be consecrated to Jupiter, having no occupation but that of prescribing prayers and sacrifices for the safety of Greece.

25. When the Athenians returned home, Aristeides saw that they were bent on having an absolutely popular government. He considered, on one side, that the people who had behaved so nobly in battle, were worthy of consideration; and on the other, that it would be difficult to restrain men elated with success, and having weapons in their hands, he therefore passed a decree that all the citizens should have a share in the government, and that the magistrates should be chosen indiscriminately from the entire body.

26. Some years after, Aristeides was sent, along with Cimon, against the Barbarians. He observed that Pausanias and the other Spartan chiefs, acted with great haughtiness towards their allies. His own method was the reverse of this. He conducted himself with so much suavity, that Cimon was swayed by his example. By such means he supplanted the Spartans, not by force, but by gentleness and wisdom. The allies contrasted the justice of Aristeides, and the mildness of Cimon, with the avarice and sternness of Pausanias. Pausanias never spoke to the officers of the allies but with sharpness and anger; and for the slightest offences the men were flogged, or obliged to stand for a whole day with an iron anchor on their shoulders. He would allow none of them to gather forage, nor cut straw for their beds, or draw water from the wells, till the Spartans were served; and his slaves were stationed to drive them away with rods. One day, Aristeides would have remonstrated with him, but he knit his brow and said, "I am not at leisure." Both the naval and land-officers of the Greeks, more especially of Chios, Samos, and Lesbos, pressed Aristeides to take the supreme command, and to receive the allies under his protection, for they had long wished to be free from the control of Sparta, and to submit to that of Athens. Aristeides told them that he saw much necessity for their proposal, and believed it to be right, and that nothing was wanting but some action which would prove their sincerity, and commit them beyond the power of going back. On this hint, Uliades of Samos, and Antagoras of Chios, attacked the galley of Pausanias commanding the fleet near Byzantium. Pausanias, enraged at what he regarded as their insolence, threatened to make them feel that they were insulting, not his galley, but their own country. They derided his threat, and said that he had only to retire, and to be thankful to Fortune for helping him at Platæa, for nothing but the respect of the Greeks for that great exploit prevented their taking vengeance for all the evil treatment they had received from him. They then forsook the Spartan standard, and placed themselves under that of Athens.

27. The magnanimity of the Spartans was very conspicuous on this occasion, for, seeing their generals spoiled by too much power, they voluntarily renounced the supreme com-

mand, and recalled their generals, preferring the character of wise, modest, and obedient citizens, to the glory of the command of Greece.

28. While the Spartans had the command, all the Greeks had paid a fixed contribution to the expenses of the war; but now they desired that more equality should be preserved in the proportions raised by each state; and at their request, the Athenians appointed Aristeides to examine their lands and their revenues, and to adjust the contributions to their several means. Aristeides, thus become the master of all Greece, did not abuse the great power entrusted to him. Poor at the beginning, he was poorer at the end. So much disinterestedness, justice, and humanity pervaded his administration, that the allies of Athens celebrated it as the "happy allotment" of Greece. The justice of these proceedings was rendered more apparent in after times, when, though the war was not really more expensive, the charges were doubled, and even trebled, to meet the expenses of largesses, games, pictures, and statues, to which the Athenian people became accustomed.

29. The reputation of Aristeides being greatly raised by this system of equal taxation, Themistocles ridiculed the praises that were everywhere heaped on him, by saying—"It is not the merit of a man, but of a chest, to keep the treasure committed to it." Thus he feebly avenged the wound inflicted on him by Aristeides: for one day when Themistocles had said, "that he esteemed the highest quality of a general to be a foresight of the designs of the enemy," Aristeides replied: "This is indeed a necessary quality; but there is another of which you have not spoken, but which is noble, and becoming a general—that he should have clean hands."

30. When the terms of the alliance were all arranged, Aristeides called on the confederates to swear to their observance in every particular, and he himself took the oaths in the name of the Athenians. As he pronounced these oaths, he flung masses of burning iron into the sea. But when, afterwards, the Athenians were forced to violate some of the articles, and to govern somewhat more despotically, Aristeides exhorted them to lay the curses entirely on him, discharging them from all participation in the crime of perjury. Theophrastus says, that while Aristeides

was perfectly just in all his private affairs, and in those of his fellow-citizens among themselves, an infinite number of things arose in the general government of the republic, in which he sacrificed his sense of justice to the prosperity of his country. As an example of this, he tells us that, when the advice of the Samians to break the conditions of the treaty of alliance, by bringing the treasure of the allies from Delphi to Athens, was debated in the council, Aristeides said, "It is not right, but it is necessary." Still, though he had raised Athens to the glory of ruling so many thousands of men, he continued in poverty till his dying day. He regarded his poverty as more honourable than the trophies of victory. Callias, the torch-bearer, was one of the kindred of Aristeides. He was charged by his enemies with a capital offence. The charges against him were weak; but, wandering from the accusation, they said to the judges, "You know Aristeides, son of Lysimachus, justly admired by the Greeks for his virtue and his wisdom. What kind of life do you think that poor man leads at home, when you see him so meanly apparelled every day in your assemblies? Yet this is the man whom Callias, his kinsman, the richest of the Athenians, neglects, leaving his wife and children in a state of frightful misery, though he has received from him the greatest benefits, through his influence in the state." Callias, seeing the judges more moved by this reproach than by the crimes of which he was accused, appealed to Aristeides, to acknowledge that he had often pressed him to receive money from him, but that he had always refused, professing, that it was more becoming in Aristeides to glory in his poverty, than in Callias to boast of his riches; since it was easy to find many who used riches both well and ill, while there were but few who bore poverty with courage: for none were ashamed of poverty but those who could not help it. When Aristeides gave this evidence in favour of Callias, none of the people left the court without envying such poverty as that of Aristeides, rather than such wealth as that of Callias. We learn these particulars from Æschines, a disciple of Socrates: and Plato judged, that Aristeides alone, among the most celebrated men, was worthy of esteem. Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles, filled the city with porticoes, riches,

and other superfluities; but Aristeides aimed, in all his measures, at promoting virtue. His conduct to Themistocles displayed his generosity. Though Themistocles was his enemy throughout his whole administration, and had procured his banishment, yet, when the accusation of Themistocles afforded Aristeides an opportunity for revenge, and Alcmæon, Cimon, and others, would have gladly received his aid in driving Themistocles from the country, he uttered not a word against him, being no more gratified at his disgrace, than he had been mortified by his success.

31. Some have reported that Aristeides died at Pontus, where he was employed in the service of the republic. By others, it is said that he died at Athens, admired and honoured by his fellow-citizens. Craterus, the Macedonian, relates that after the banishment of Themistocles, the Athenians became so fierce, that calumniators were encouraged in attacking the best of their citizens. Aristeides himself was not spared: he was accused by Diophantus of having received a large bribe from the Ionians, when he was levying the tax on the allies for carrying on the war. According to this writer, Aristeides was too poor to pay the fine imposed on him, and he went away to die in some part of Ionia. But Craterus gives no authority for these statements, and the other historians make no mention of the condemnation of Aristeides. His tomb was seen at Phalerum, erected by the citizens, because he left nothing for his own burial. His daughters are said to have received marriage portions from the public treasury. His son, Lysimachus, received a hundred silver minæ, a hundred acres of planted land, and four drachmæ a day; and when he died, his daughter received the same public support as the victors in the Olympic games.

32. The fame of Aristeides as an upright man has been perpetuated to the present day; nor is it likely that he will ever lose his title, "Aristeides the Just." Truth requires us to remember, that even Aristeides relaxed, and sanctioned what was wrong, when it seemed to be necessary for the safety and honour of his country. He would be just to private men; but when Athens would have to sacrifice power, wealth, or glory, he yielded to a violation of the rights of other states. This was as wrong as any of the unjust actions which Aristeides would have condemned

in others and avoided in himself. We cannot conceive of any circumstances that would justify that which is, in itself, wrong. We cannot admit one rule for private life, and another for public affairs: immorality can never produce good policy. A great English statesman said, "I am one of those who firmly believe—as much, indeed, as a man can believe anything—that the greatest resource a nation can possess, the surest principle of power, is strict attention to principles of justice. I firmly believe, that the common proverb, that honesty is the best policy, is as applicable to nations as to individuals." It is by impressing us with the claims of every human being, and by imbuing us with the love of universal and impartial justice, that Christianity lays the foundation of true national greatness. At whatever present sacrifice, it must always be the wisest, the safest, the most honourable course, to do, not what seems to be expedient, but what is proved to be right. It never can be necessary for a human being to do wrong: God has not given us liberty to choose in such matters. Let the religion of Jesus Christ fully possess our minds, and all the contrivances of crooked policy will be rejected in all cases.

33. The integrity of a man's character is a matter of infinitely higher moment than the grandeur of his talents. The deeds which have astonished nations, are not unfrequently vitiated by the basest motives. Glory is too often the vain admiration of the ignorant and thoughtless. The glory of military achievements has been acquired by the power of conquerors, the pride of victorious nations, and the genius of sculptors, poets, and historians. But the rare virtue of fulfilling with exactness the duties of all the relations which bind men to each other, is apt to pass unnoticed; as the comet awakens observation among those who never leave their morning rest to enjoy the majestic glories of the sunrise. Yet, at the last, none will be honoured, as now none are loved, but those who have cultivated the self-denying habits of rectitude and goodness. It is one of the many proofs that our religion comes from heaven, that its peculiar doctrines are founded on the unchangeable righteousness of God, and that its precepts and its spirit are embodied in that "new man," which "after God is created in righteousness and

true holiness." This "new man" is created only by the Spirit of God. The Spirit of God performs this great work in the hearts of those who humbly and gratefully receive the truth, "as it is in Jesus." It is only by practical righteousness that we can prove that we have embraced the truth, and that we have received the Spirit. Such a character, formed by grace, guided by Divine truth, and growing in purity and strength, is an imitation of that "Holy and Just One," who is at once our Teacher, our Saviour, and our Example. Under the prevalence of this religion, such a character, instead of being rare among men, will be common, adorning every private station, blessing every household, and binding the people of all countries in the strong and tender ties of a noble brotherhood. No exalted rank, no public office, no eventful occasions are needed for insuring a character which excels that of Aristeides in the uniformity of its action, as well as in the principle from which it springs. By working out the simple truths of the gospel in our daily walk, each of us may attain to a higher dignity than that which has made the name of this Athenian so illustrious. All we have to do, is to learn what is right, and then to do it, from motives which the gospel teaches, and in the strength for which the gospel encourages us to pray and hope. The philosophy of Calvary is the true school of virtue.

LIFE OF THEMISTOCLES.

B. C. 469.

1. THEMISTOCLES belonged to an obscure family in Athens. In his boyhood, he showed great quickness and courage; even his leisure hours were spent in mimicking the actions of great statesmen. His schoolmaster used often to say to him, "My son, you will never be anything small, but either a great good, or a great evil." While he paid but slight attention to those sciences which form the private character, gratify the taste, or refine the manners, he gave a degree of attention far beyond his years to everything that improved his sagacity, and fitted him for public life, as if he were

sure that he would be called hereafter to reduce such knowledge to practice. Hence it was that, when he was rallied in a party of persons more accomplished than himself in the arts of conversation and society, he proudly retorted, "I am not skilled to string the lyre, or to touch the lute; but give me a city, however small and obscure, and I will raise it to grandeur and celebrity." His youth was spent in such irregular indulgences, that, it is said, his father disinherited him, and that his mother destroyed herself because she could not bear the disgrace of her son's misconduct. His father vainly endeavoured to check his ambition for public notoriety, by showing him some old galleys, rotting in neglect upon the shore, which he compared to the leaders of the people who are thus abandoned by the public, when their services are no longer needed.

2. By his ambition, Themistocles was soon involved in quarrels with eminent men in Athens. He was always opposed by Aristeides, the son of Lysimachus, a man of mild disposition, and remarkable integrity, entirely devoted to the service of the state. He saw the restless nature of Themistocles, who, in his eagerness to obtain distinction, was constantly proposing great changes, and enterprises full of danger. But Themistocles persevered through all opposition. After the battle of Marathon, when Alcibiades was the theme of general praise, this ambitious youth was seen retiring thoughtfully from the scenes of public entertainment, and watching through the night while others slept. His friends, surprised at the change in him, asked him how it was. He said:—"The trophies of Miltiades will not let me sleep." Others imagined that the victory at Marathon had ended the Persian war; but Themistocles, believing it to be but the beginning of a severer struggle, was always preparing himself and the Athenians for the coming danger. With this view, he proposed that instead of dividing the revenues from the silver mines of Laurium, as formerly, among the citizens, they should spend them in building a number of ships for the war against the Æginetans, who were then the masters of the sea. It was easier to stir up his countrymen against these neighbouring islanders than against the distant Persians. A hundred large galleys were built, which were afterwards used in fighting against Xerxes. Having succeeded thus far, Themistocles continued to

draw the attention of the Athenians to maritime affairs, labouring to convince them that by strengthening their naval force, they would be able, not only to drive away the Barbarians, but to gain the supremacy over the whole of Greece. Whether by this proceeding he corrupted the simplicity of the Athenian constitution, is a speculation not proper to be discussed here. But Xerxes himself was taught that the Greeks owed their safety to their navy, and that the ships of the Athenians enabled them to restore their city after it had been destroyed; for after his defeat at sea, though his army remained complete, he could no longer stand against the Athenians; and "it seems to me," says Plutarch, "that he left Mardonius to prevent pursuit, not at all with the hope of subduing Greece."

3. Themistocles is charged by some writers with avarice, and indeed he needed large sums of money, for his frequent sacrifices and his profuse entertainments to strangers. He is said to have sold the presents which were sent for his table. He begged a colt from Philides, who dealt largely in breeding horses; and when Philides refused, he threatened to "make a Trojan horse of his house,"—hinting that he would "raise up enemies against him in his own family." It is mentioned as one of the signs of his ambition, that, at a time when he was little known, he induced Epides, a favourite performer on the harp, to practise in his house, to draw the people thither. In like manner, at the Olympic games, he vied with Cimon, in the costly elegance of his display. He increased his popularity, by engaging in a tragedy exhibited entirely at his own expense, and which he commemorated by an inscription,—"Themistocles the Phrearian (the district of Athens to which he belonged) exhibited the tragedy; Phrynicus composed it; Adeimantus presided." He made himself familiar with the names of the citizens, whose favour he thus easily gained. He was impartial in administering justice. Simonides, the poet of Ceos, came to Themistocles, when he was a magistrate, with an unreasonable petition. "You would not be a good poet," he said, "if you violated the rules of harmony; and I should not be a good magistrate, if I granted your request contrary to law." The same Simonides was, at a different time, ridiculed by Themistocles, for being so absurd as to abuse the Corinthians

who lived in such an elegant city; and for having his own portrait taken, when he had so unpleasing a countenance.

4. By all the arts of popularity, and by the force of his great talents, the faction headed by Themistocles prevailed, and he procured the banishment of his rival, Aristeides. The preparation of the Persians for another invasion of Greece being now well known, the Athenians were about to appoint, as their general, Epicydes, son of Euphemides, a man of more eloquence than courage, and one not unlikely to accept a bribe. Themistocles, fearing the consequences of choosing such a man, bought him off from seeking the appointment. The Persian king's ambassadors came to Athens, demanding earth and water, (the signs of submission). The interpreter of the demand was put to death, at the suggestion of Themistocles, for daring to express the demand of the Barbarians in the Greek language. It was also by his motion that the Athenians publicly denounced, as infamous, Arthmirus, the Zelite, together with all his descendants, because he had brought Persian gold into Greece. But the greatest of his achievements was, that he persuaded the several states of Greece to lay aside their quarrels among themselves, and to make common cause against the Persians.

5. When Themistocles took the command of the Athenians, his first desire was that they should at once leave their city, and, embarking in their ships, meet the enemy as far as possible from their own shores. To this, however, he found the opposition so strong, that he joined the Spartans in marching at the head of a large army to the vale of Tempé; but the Thessalians had joined the Persian party, and their example was followed by the whole country as far as Bœotia. The Athenians were now more ready to fight the enemy on the sea. They gave Themistocles the command of a fleet, to guard the straits of Artemisium. The commanders of the assembled fleets were, for the most part, disposed to give the chief command to Eurybiades, the Spartan; but the Athenians, whose fleet was larger than all the rest united, deemed that the place of honour should be granted to them. Themistocles, seeing how dangerous their disagreement at such a time might be, resigned the command to Eurybiades. He calmed the Athenians, by showing them how their conduct in this

war would render them, without doubt, superior to all the other Greeks. To Themistocles, therefore, Greece appears to owe her preservation, and the Athenians the glory of surpassing the enemy in valour, and their allies in moderation.

6. As the Persian fleet approached Aphetæ, Eurybiades was astonished at the appearance of so many ships, and at the intelligence that two hundred more were sailing round Sciathos. He wished to be near to the Peloponnesian coast, where the army could assist the fleet. The Eubœans, fearing that they might be abandoned by the allies, sent Pelagon with a large sum to Themistocles, who gave the money to Eurybiades. Architeles, captain of the sacred galley, not being able to pay his men, was about to leave the fleet; but Themistocles raised his countrymen against him: they boarded his galley, and took away his provision for supper. While Architeles was feeling the insult, Themistocles sent some provisions in a chest, at the bottom of which was a talent of silver. He desired him to refresh himself that evening, and to pay his men in the morning; otherwise, he would charge him before the Athenians with having taken a bribe from the enemy.

7. The engagements of the Greeks with the Persians, in the straits of Eubœa, were not decisive. Nevertheless they were of great advantage to the Greeks. Their experience taught them, that men who knew how to fight hand to hand, had nothing to fear in the number and splendour of the enemy's ships, nor in the shouts and songs of the Barbarians. They learned to despise these things, when they grappled in close action.

8. As soon as the Greeks heard the news of the death of Leonidas at Thermopylæ, which gave Xerxes a passage into Greece by land, they resolved to retire within their own seas. In this retreat, the Athenians, elevated by the feats they had recently performed, chose to bring up the rear. As they passed the places on the coast, where the Persians would be obliged to disembark for supplies of water, Themistocles set up huge stones in conspicuous places, and engraved on them, in large letters, these words, addressed to the Ionians, or Asiatic Greeks, in the Persian navy: "People of Ionia, range yourselves on our side. Take the part of your fathers, who exposed their lives,

only to maintain your freedom; or, if that is impossible, at least do the Persians all the harm you can in the battle, and throw their forces into confusion." By this stratagem, he hoped either to draw away the Ionians, or to make them suspected by the Persians.

9. While Xerxes was ravaging the towns of the Phocians, the Greeks made no efforts for their protection, though the Athenians had intreated them to move by land towards Bœotia, to defend Attica from invasion by the Barbarians, as the Athenians had encountered equal danger in closing the straits of Euripus against the Persian fleet. Their attention was turned to the Peloponnesus; and the allies thought of nothing but gathering all the forces of Greece to build a wall across the Isthmus. Thus deserted by their allies, Themistocles never dreaming of encountering alone the overwhelming army of the Persians, saw no hope for the Athenians, but in abandoning their city, and taking to their ships. But the people would not hear of this; they had no desire for victory; they saw no means of saving themselves, after forsaking the tombs of their fathers, and the temples of their gods.

10. To overcome the reluctance of the people, Themistocles, like a tragedian, had recourse to prodigies and oracles. The Dragon of Minerva, the guardian of the citadel, seemed to have disappeared from the temple; for the offerings made to him day by day were left untouched. The priests, prompted by Themistocles, gave it out among the people, that the goddess had left the city, and that she herself pointed out to them the road to the sea. He procured from the Pythoness at Delphi an oracle, which commanded the Athenians "to save themselves by wooden walls." Swayed by the advice of Themistocles, the Athenians at length decreed, "that they should place the city under the safe keeping of Minerva, their patroness; that all who were of age to bear arms should embark in their ships; and that every man should provide, in the best way he could, for the safety of his wife, his children, and his slaves."

11. This decree being passed, the greater part sent their aged parents, with their wives and their children, to the city of Trœzen, where they were generously entertained at the public expense.

12. It was a spectacle to touch the heart with pity and

admiration, to see these men, unmoved by the sighs of their parents, and the tender embraces of their wives and their children, passing over to Salamis. What greatly increased the lamentation was the large number of persons whose extreme old age obliged them to be left behind. And it was a sad sight, when even the domestic animals ran, with dismal howlings, round their masters as they embarked. It was observed, that a dog belonging to Xanthippus, father of Pericles, leaped into the sea, swam near the vessel all the way to Salamis, and died upon the shore.

13. Themistocles perceived that the Athenians were weary of the absence of Aristeides, whose banishment he had procured some time before the breaking out of this war. They feared that, in a spirit of vengeance, he might join the Barbarians, and bring total ruin on the state that had expelled him. Themistocles, therefore, obtained a decree, permitting "all who had been sentenced to temporary banishment, to return, and to say and do, among the rest of the citizens, what they judged to be for the safety of Greece."

14. Eurybiades, who, out of respect for the dignity of Sparta, had been chosen commander of the Grecian fleet, was so wanting in courage that he wished to retire, with his whole force, to the Isthmus, near the Peloponnesian army. Themistocles vehemently opposed this project. Some of his sayings, on that occasion, are worthy of remark. Eurybiades having said to him—"They punish those who rise without order in the public contests," he replied—"True; but they never crown those who wait too long, and who lag behind." Eurybiades raised his *baton*, as if to strike him. Themistocles said to him—"Strike, but hear me." Eurybiades, admiring his patience and self-government, desired him to speak on. Themistocles was leading Eurybiades to his opinion; when one of the captains said, aloud—"It ill becomes a man who has no longer a city, to advise those who have cities to abandon them." Themistocles turned round on him, and, taking up his words, said to him—"Wretch! we have abandoned our houses and our walls, not caring to preserve inanimate things at the expense of our freedom; but we still have a city much greater than all the cities of Greece—the two hundred ships which are here to save you, if you will take advantage of our help:

but if you retire, and abandon us a second time, there are Greeks here who shall soon hear that the Athenians are masters of a free city, and lands greater and better than those which they have left." These words made Eurybiades fear lest the Athenians might desert the party of the confederates. As an Eretrian, from Eubœa, was endeavouring to speak against Themistocles, Themistocles said to him, "You speak of war! you, who are like the sword-fish, having a sword, but no heart!"

15. Some writers say, that while Themistocles held this discourse on the deck of a ship, an owl, flying on the right, alighted on the top of the mast. This omen brought the allies to his opinion, and they resolved on preparing for a sea-fight. When, however, they saw the Persian fleet making for the port of Phalerus in Attica, while the king marched his army towards the shore, they sent orders to all the pilots in their fleet to set sail that night for the Isthmus. Themistocles was resolved that they should not give up the advantage they possessed in having the command of the straits. He therefore sent privately to the Persian king, telling him that the Athenian commander was in his interest, and now informed him of the intended flight of the Greeks, exhorting him not to let them escape but to cut them off while they were in confusion, and far from their armies on the land. Xerxes ordered his officers, with two hundred ships, to guard all the passages and islands, to prevent the escape of the Greeks. The first Greek that saw this movement of the Persians was Aristeides. He came to Themistocles, showing him that they were surrounded by the enemy. Themistocles explained his own stratagem to Aristeides; Aristeides approving of the policy of Themistocles, immediately went to all the rest of the commanders in the Grecian fleet, encouraging them at once to give the Persians battle.

16. When the morning dawned, Xerxes was seated on a golden throne, in the height which overlooked the narrow strait between Attica and Salamis, to view the battle, attended by his secretaries, to record the particulars. On the deck of the admiral's ship Themistocles was offering sacrifice, when three beautiful Persian captives, the nephews of Xerxes, were brought to him. At the same moment, a bright flame flashed from the victims, and a sneezing was

heard on the right. Euphrantide, the soothsayer, seized Themistocles by the hand, ordering the three youths to be sacrificed to Bacchus Omestes, assuring him that by so doing the Greeks would obtain the victory. Though Themistocles hesitated to obey so strange and cruel an order, the multitude, more absurd than rational in the hour of danger, called with one voice upon the god, led the captives to the altar, and insisted on their being offered.

17. Themistocles was not less happy in the time than in the place for this great engagement. At a particular hour of the day a brisk wind from the sea raises the water in the narrow channel; the Grecian ships being low and compact, suffered no inconvenience from these surges; but they turned the sides of the lofty and heavy ships of the Persians to the attacks of their enemies. Themistocles availed himself of his knowledge of the place. The Greeks furiously attacked the Persian vessels. The ship of the Persian commander was grappled by Ameinias and Sosicles, who received him with their pikes as he was boarding their ship, and pushed him into the sea. During the rage of the battle, it is said a bright light was seen coming from Eleusis; loud sounds were heard over the Thirasian plain, like the noise of the procession of the mystic symbols of Bacchus; a cloud appeared to rise from the place, and to cover the fleet; and armed men seemed to stretch their hands from Ægina in front of the Grecian fleet, which were believed to be the Æacides, to whom the Greeks had addressed their prayers before the battle. Lycomides, an Athenian, was the first that captured a Persian ship. He cut down the Persian ensigns, and consecrated them to the laurelled Apollo. The Persian ships could come up the straits only in small numbers, and they threw each other into confusion. Till the evening the Greeks continued to fight them. They entirely broke the Persian power. Their victory was complete. It was the most signal victory ever gained at sea, either by the Greeks or by the Barbarians. All the allies displayed their valour; but the success was due most of all to the wisdom and energy of Themistocles.

18. After his defeat, the indignant and disappointed king of Persia attempted to join the isle of Salamis to the main land by a mole, over which his army might pass into the island, and close the passage entirely against the Greeks.

Themistocles at the same time proposed that the Greeks should sail to the Hellespont, and break down the bridge of boats, so that they might virtually conquer Persia without leaving the shores of Europe. But to this proposal Aristeides replied, that if they shut Xerxes up in Greece, he would be driven to more vigorous measures against them, which might be successful; and therefore, instead of breaking down that bridge, they should, if it were possible, rather provide a second, that Xerxes might depart with the greater ease. Themistocles agreed to this suggestion; and it was resolved that they should hasten the Persians' retreat from the Greeks as much as they could. Themistocles found among the prisoners one of the king's eunuchs. He sent him to the king, to inform him that the Greeks had determined to destroy the bridge over the Hellespont; but that Themistocles advised him to hasten into Asia, while his friends would find out pretences for delay. The king retreated in great haste.*

19. According to Herodotus, Ægina was the most forward of the Grecian states in gaining the victory of Salamis; but even the most envious yielded the palm of honour to Themistocles. When they met at the Isthmus, each of the commanders took a billet from the altar of Neptune, to write on it the names of those who had acted most nobly: each man put his own name first, and Themistocles next. The Lacedæmonians led him, along with Eurybiades, in triumph to Sparta, where they were both crowned with olive, Eurybiades receiving the prize of valour, and Themistocles the prize of wisdom. The noblest chariot in Sparta was presented to Themistocles, and a band of three hundred chosen Spartan youths attended him, on his return, to the frontiers of their country. When he appeared at the next Olympic games, he was the object of universal attention and admiration. He told his friends that he was then reaping the reward of his labours on behalf of Greece.

20. There are many acts and sayings of Themistocles which show that it was in his nature to be exceedingly ambitious. When he was chosen to be commander of the Athenian fleet, he put off all business, public or private, to the day on which he embarked, that when men saw him

* See Themistocles' proposal, and the reply of Aristeides, more fully given, section 11, p. 56.

amidst so much business, and converse with so many kinds of people, they might have a great idea of his power and grandeur. Walking, at another time, by the sea-shore, where he amused himself with watching the dead bodies that were cast up: when he saw that many of them were adorned with golden chains and bracelets, he continued his walk, and turning to one of his friends who followed him, said—"Take these things for yourself: for you are not Themistocles." Antiphates, who had treated Themistocles with pride and scorn, had become one of his most assiduous followers after he rose to eminence in the state: "My friend," said Themistocles to him, "we are both become wise at the same time; but both too late." He was in the habit of saying—the Athenians held him in no esteem nor honour; but when they were threatened with any war they made use of him, as in a storm they would take shelter under a plane-tree, but in fine weather cut down its branches. A man of the isle of Seriphus one day taunted him by saying—"Your glory comes not from yourself, but from your country." "You say truly," Themistocles answered: "I should never have become famous if I had belonged to Seriphus; nor would you, even though you had been an Athenian." An officer, who thought he had done the state great service, ventured to compare his own actions with those of Themistocles. Themistocles related to him this fable: "There was once a dispute between Feast-day, and Day-after-the-Feast. Lady Day-after-the-Feast complained that she was always full of care and trouble; whereas lady Feast-day did nothing but make people merry with the things prepared for them. 'That is very true,' said lady Feast-day; 'but all I have to say to you is—if I had not been, you would not have been.'—'In like manner,' he added, 'if I had not been, where would you have been at this hour?'" Speaking of his son, who ruled his mother, and through her, the father, he said, jestingly;—"He is the greatest man in Greece: for the Athenians rule the Greeks; I rule the Athenians; his mother rules me; and he rules his mother." As he affected singularity in all things, when he was about to sell one of his estates, he told the crier to add to the notice—"It has a good neighbour." Two citizens sought his daughter in marriage. He preferred the honest man who was poor, to the dishonest man who

was rich, saying—"I would rather have for a son-in-law a man without a fortune, than a fortune without a man."

21. Having achieved the victory over the Persians, Themistocles devoted all his thoughts to the work of fortifying Athens According to some writers, he gained the passive acquiescence of the Spartan Ephori in this undertaking, by bribing them; but according to Theopompus, by deceiving them. His story is, that Themistocles went to Sparta as an ambassador. The Spartans complained to him that the Athenians were fortifying their city, and brought forward the governor of Ægina as a witness of the fact. Themistocles denied the fact, and he urged them to send messengers to Athens to see for themselves. The object in so doing was to gain time for the completion of the walls, and to secure Spartan hostages at Athens, for the safety of his own person. His stratagem succeeded. When the Spartans saw how the fact really was, they concealed their resentment, and sent Themistocles home in safety. He then built and fortified the Piræus. He had observed the circumference of that harbour, and he wished to accuetom the Athenians to maritime affairs. In this he pursued quite a contrary policy to that of the ancient kings of Athens, who were anxious to estrange the citizens from seafaring habits, and to confine their attention to the cultivation of the land. With this view they had published the fabled contest between Minerva and Neptune, in which Minerva gained the victory, and became the patroness of Athens, by showing the olive to the judges. Themistocles did not, as the comic poet, Aristophanes, reproached him, confound the Piræus with the city; but he connected them: thus strengthening the party of the people against the nobles, by the wealth and power of shipmasters, sailors, and pilots.

22. Eager to increase the Athenian power on the sea, Themistocles told the assembly of the citizens, when the Grecian fleet was laid up for the winter at Pagasæ, that he had a scheme which would be greatly for their advantage, but one which he could not prudently make public. The assembly desired him to impart his secret to Aristeides alone, and declared that if he approved of it, it should be adopted. To Aristeides accordingly, Themistocles opened his design. He was to burn the entire fleet of the Grecian allies. Aristeides returned to the assembly, and said—"What

Themistocles proposes, is indeed most advantageous to you; but at the same time, it would be most unjust." The Athenians ordered that it should be abandoned.

23. In the council of the Amphictyons, the Spartans made a motion for excluding from that council the Grecian states which had not joined the confederacy against the Persians. Themistocles foreseeing that if the Thessalians, Argives, and Thebans were excluded from the council, the Spartans would have a majority of votes, defended those states, and prevailed on the deputies to reject the motion. This conduct greatly incensed the Spartans against Themistocles, and induced them to support the pretensions of his rival, Cimon, in all public affairs.

24. The allies, generally, were offended with Themistocles for extorting money from the inhabitants of the Grecian islands. By these complaints, the Athenians were turned against him. They showed signs of displeasure when he publicly recounted his own actions, which made him say—"Are you tired of receiving benefits often from the same hand?" At length, he was sentenced by the ostracism to ten years' banishment. It was only what they had done to other public men, of whose power they had become jealous as too great for the interests of a free state.

25. When Themistocles was banished from Athens, he went to Argos. During his abode there, his enemies had much advantage against him, in connection with the affairs of Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, king of Sparta. Pausanias was accused by Leobotes, son of Alcmæon, as a traitor against his country; at the beginning he had concealed his scheme from Themistocles, though he was one of his best friends; but when he saw him banished, and full of resentment against his fellow-citizens, he laid it open to him, showing him the king of Persia's letters, and moving him to assist him in taking revenge on the unjust and ungrateful Greeks. Though Themistocles declined any participation in the plots of Pausanias, he kept the secret of these communications to himself, thinking that either Pausanias would abandon them, or that they would be detected by some other person. Pausanias was put to death, but there were letters and other papers which involved Themistocles in suspicion. An accusation was brought against him by some of his fellow-citizens, and they were warmly supported

by the Spartans. Themistocles, being an exile, could not appear to defend himself, and as he failed to give satisfaction by his letters, he was ordered to appear before the assembled states of Greece. He escaped from Argos to the isle of Corcyra, and thence to Epirus.

26. As the Athenians and the Spartans joined in pursuing the fugitive, Themistocles was reduced to the dangerous experiment of throwing himself on the protection of Admetus, king of the Molossians, whom, in the time of his prosperity, he had so highly provoked. The king had openly declared his purpose of revenge, if Themistocles should ever come within his reach. In the extremity of his despair, Themistocles came to Admetus as a suppliant: he held the king's infant son in his arms, and knelt before the household gods. It was an appeal which the Molossians knew not how to reject. Some say that it was the queen, others the king himself, who taught Themistocles thus to bring Admetus under a sacred obligation to protect him.

27. From Epirus he went to various islands; but at last he retired to Æga, a small town in Æolia, where he was entertained by Nicogenes, a rich man, who had some influence at the Persian court. One night, after the hour of evening sacrifice, Olbius, teacher of the children of Nicogenes, cried out with enthusiasm, "Counsel, O Night, and victory are thine!" It is said, Themistocles dreamed that night that he saw a dragon coiling round him, which, when it touched his face, turned into an eagle, covered him with its wings, and bore him in its talons to a distant spot, where he rested securely on a golden sceptre. Nicogenes, warned by this dream, placed Themistocles in such a close carriage as was used only by Persian ladies, instructing the attendants to say, if they were questioned, that they were conveying a Grecian lady from Alonia to one of the nobles of the Persian court. Having arrived safely at Sardis, Themistocles told Artabanus, a Persian officer, that he was a Greek, and that he had come to speak to the king on business which the king had much at heart. Artabanus replied, that he could not approach the king without observing the ceremony of adoration. Themistocles answered that he was not only ready to comply with the Persian customs, but that by his means, a great number of people would do homage to heir

king. "But," said Artabanus, "who shall we say desires this interview?" "That," replied Themistocles, "must be told, first, to the king himself."

28. Themistocles was brought into the king's presence: he made his prostration, and then stood in silence. When the king commanded the interpreter to ask him who he was, he answered, "Great king! I am Themistocles, the Athenian, who being banished by the Greeks, have come to you. Truly, I have done the Persians much evil, but I have done them much more good; for it was I who hindered the Greeks from pursuing them, when, having saved my country, I had it in my power to do you a pleasure. My sentiments now are suited to my condition. I come to receive benefits from your favour, if you are pacified towards me; if not, to disarm your anger by my submission and my prayers. Take my enemies as witnesses of the service which I have rendered to your subjects; and make use of my misfortune to display your magnanimity, rather than to gratify your revenge. By the one you would save your suppliant; by the other you would destroy the enemy of Greece." To interest the king yet more, by the appearance of religion, he related to him the dream which he had in the house of Nicogenes; and told him that the oracle of Jupiter, at Dodona, had directed him to flee to a prince bearing the same name as Jupiter himself; which he could interpret of none other than the king of Persia, who, like Jupiter, is styled the Great King.

29. The Persian monarch gave no immediate answer to Themistocles; yet he was filled with admiration of his talent and his boldness. Among his friends he congratulated himself on the singular felicity of this adventure; he prayed Arimanius (the Persian god of darkness) always to inspire his enemies with a distrust of their own great men; offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to the gods; entertained his court with a grand banquet; and, in the excess of his joy, cried out three times, even after he had gone to sleep, "I have Themistocles, the Athenian!" Early in the morning, he summoned the great men of his court, and sent for Themistocles. Themistocles had no sanguine hopes: the guards treated him with expressions of hatred. Roxana, a commander in the army, said to him in a bitter whisper, as he passed through the silent crowd of courtiers

into the royal presence, "Serpent of Greece, full of craft and malice, the king's good fortune has brought thee hither." When he had gone twice through the forms of adoration, the king saluted him, spoke kindly, and said, "I owe you two hundred talents; for as you have presented yourself, it is but just that you should receive the reward promised to any one who would bring you." He gave him promises of greater things, inspired him with confidence, and desired him to communicate fully whatever he had to propose respecting Greece. Themistocles said to the king, in oriental fashion, "A man's discourse is like a piece of tapestry; both, in unfolding, display their figures, which, so long as they are rolled up, are hidden; and therefore, I need time to open and draw out the things that are in my thoughts." The king, not a little charmed with his ingenious comparison, permitted him to ask as much time as he thought needful. Themistocles asked for a year; in that time he acquired the Persian language, and was able to speak to the king without an interpreter.

30. Persons not belonging to the court imagined that the whole discourse of Themistocles with the king was on the affairs of Greece; but the changes that took place in the court at that time, excited, among the great nobles, a suspicion that he had spoken too freely respecting them. The honours which he received from the king were much greater than those which had been conferred on other foreigners. He took him with him to the chase, and admitted him to his most private pleasures and amusements. He even presented him to the queen, his mother; and she honoured him with her affection, and gave him free access to her presence. The king had him instructed, also, in the Persian philosophy.

31. Demaratus, of Sparta, was then at the Persian court. The king had desired him to ask for some favour. Demaratus asked that he might be led through the city of Sardis on horseback, with the royal tiara on his head. Mithropaustes, the king's cousin, took Demaratus by the hand, saying to him, "My friend, that royal tiara does not carry with it the brain which it ought to cover; you might hold the thunder in your hand, but that would not make you Jupiter." The king resented this insolent demand so

warmly, that he seemed likely never to forgive Demaratus; but Themistocles interceded for him, and he was restored to favour. So great, indeed, was the credit of Themistocles, that, in the following reigns, when the Persian affairs were more involved with those of Greece, if the kings wished to allure any of the Greeks to their service they wrote to them, and promised, in plain words, that they should be greater in their court than ever Themistocles had been with Artaxerxes.

32. We are told, that when Themistocles had reached so high a degree of favour at the Persian court, as to be universally sought and honoured, he said one day to his children, while he showed them the magnificence of his table, "My children, we should have been lost, but for our ruin." Most authors affirm that the king gave him the city of Magnesia, to supply him with bread; Lanissarus, to provide him with wine; and Myers, with viands for his table. The cities of Percote and Palæscepsis are mentioned by Neanthes and Phanias, as furnishing his chambers, and providing his clothing.

33. Themistocles went, at a certain time, on some business affecting Greece, to the maritime coasts of the Persian dominions in Asia Minor. On his approach to a town called Leontocephalus, (Lion's Head,) he dreamed, it is said, that the mother of the gods addressed him: "Themistocles, beware of the lion's head, lest you fall into his jaws: as the reward of my advice, I demand thy daughter, Mnesiptolema." He awoke in trouble; prayed to the goddess; followed a road that led away from the scene of danger; and lodged, next night, in a different place. The hangings of his tent had been wet, by the fall of a horse in a river; his servants spread them out to dry by moonlight. Some Pisidians, who had been employed by the satrap of Upper Phrygia to kill Themistocles at Leontocephalus, were in pursuit of him; but, mistaking these hangings for the place of his repose, they were captured by the servants of their intended victim.

34. Themistocles had long been living tranquilly at Magnesia, when the revolt of Egypt from Persia was encouraged by the Athenians. The king, resolved on punishing the Athenians, sent messengers to Magnesia, demanding from Themistocles the fulfilment of his engagement to help

him against the Greeks, by taking the command of the expedition. But neither his resentment against his country, nor his ambition, could tempt him to obey. He might doubt the issue of the war, as Cimon was, at that time, master of the sea. Unwilling to tarnish the glory of his former days, and disgrace the trophies of Salamis, he put an end to his life by poison. When the king was told the cause and manner of his death, he admired him more than before; and he continued his royal favour to his friends and servants. The Athenians honoured his memory by a tomb in the form of an altar, near the entrance to the Piræus. The Magnesians conferred privileges on his descendants for many generations.

35. The mind of Themistocles was one of that high order in which the Greeks so long abounded, and which their character and institutions did so much to excite. That he looked even on Athens as only the means of raising his own glory, is plain from the whole course of his life; and, it were well, if those who have been taught the lessons of the gospel were always free from the ambition of rising in fame, or power, or wealth, by means of their country, or even of their religion. We can scarcely be too jealous of our motives, especially if we are active and successful in a work which is admired by those around us, and which is bound up with the happiness of our fellow-creatures. We instantly condemn the vices of this illustrious Greek—his falsehood—his treachery—his selfishness: the best condemnation will be given in our own truthfulness, fidelity, and benevolence. What could more strikingly show the weakness of man, and the poverty of his own religion, than the mournful end of Themistocles. He placed himself, with a degradation which must have been almost insufferable to a highminded Greek, in the power of the enemy he had baffled; he professed to live in the Persian court as the enemy of Greece; and he died by his own hand, because he could not bear the reproaches of the Athenians. For this act of destruction he was admired by the Persians, revered by the Greeks, and praised by Plutarch. Very different is the course prescribed by Christianity. No man has the right to take away his own life. The fear of offending God is a higher motive than the dread of human reproach. In whatever difficulties men's follies or sins

may place them, they are but increased by committing the great folly and crime of rushing, unbidden, into the presence of the Judge of all. The true escape from such difficulties consists in unfeigned repentance, confidence of pardon through faith in the Divine Redeemer, and earnest prayer for that grace which enables the repenting soul to "walk in newness of life." Thus our holy religion is at once the strongest check on the stormy passions of human pride, and the only healing for the wounds which, by yielding to those passions, men inflict upon themselves. But for Christianity, how many millions would have followed Themistocles, both in his presumption, and in his despair.

LIFE OF CIMON.

B. C. 448.

1. CIMON was the son of Miltiades, by Hegesipyla, daughter of the Thracian king Olorus, and nearly related to Thucydides the historian. When Miltiades died in prison, he left his son Cimon very young. In his youth, Cimon had a very bad character; while guilty of many odious vices, he was a stranger to music, science, wit, eloquence, and all the accomplishments which adorned the Athenians; though he displayed a sincerity and freedom of manner resembling that of the Peloponnesians.

2. In other respects, and in his riper years, he equalled Miltiades in cunning, and Themistocles in military wisdom, while he excelled them both as a politician. At the time when Themistocles advised the Athenians to escape to Salamis from the Persian invasion, most persons were astonished at a proposal that appeared to them to be a rash; but Cimon led his companions gaily along the [illegible] from the Ceramicus to the citadel, to consecrate a bridle [illegible] the temple of Minerva, intending to show that the [illegible] no need of horses, but of seamen. Having [illegible] bridle, he took down a shield from the [illegible] prayed to Minerva, and leaping [illegible] couraging others by his [illegible] battle of Salamis, he [illegible]

of the Athenian [illegible]
exhorting [illegible]
of his father [illegible]

3. He was [illegible]
for by his gentle [illegible]
to the people [illegible]
advancement [illegible]
saw in him [illegible]
the daring character [illegible]

4. After the [illegible]
became commander [illegible]
the general orders [illegible]
distinguished [illegible]
equipment of the [illegible]
gained over the [illegible]
conspiring to [illegible]
acting in a [illegible]
joined Aristeides [illegible]
ended in the [illegible]
Cimon, the united [illegible]
having heard that [illegible]
Strymon, were harassed [illegible]
king, who had gained [illegible]
overcame the Persians [illegible] to
within the walls, after that [illegible] the
strictly that no enemy [illegible] n of
Persian general, who [illegible] peared
town; and himself, his friends [illegible] n men-
sumed in the flames. [illegible] on as the
the fertile country [illegible] had taken
Athenians. The people of [illegible] the cities of
to Cimon by [illegible] ured Cimon by
the memory of [illegible] Cimon placed
of Hermes [illegible] naked, and on the
victory [illegible] ments. The allies
military [illegible] qual. Cimon gave
[illegible] ians will be content
[illegible] Herophytus of
[illegible] of the Persians
[illegible] fell to the share
[illegible] away the golden
[illegible] the scarlet and [illegible]

people—"Miltiades, when thou hast fought alone, ask to be honoured alone."

5. Then how came it to pass that the deeds of Cimon were so signally rewarded? Doubtless, because under the former generals the Athenians had defended and saved their country; but Cimon had beaten the Barbarians on their own ground: for they had conquered Eïon and Amphipolis, and had planted colonies in them: they had also a colony in the isle of Scyros; of which Cimon gained the mastery by an adventure, which Plutarch thus relates:—The isle of Scyros was peopled by the Dolopes, the great corsairs of antiquity. Not content with their piratical courses on the sea, they plundered the merchants who entered their own harbours. One day, some Thessalian merchants came to the harbour of Ctesium. The Dolopes robbed them, and put them in prison. The prisoners found means to escape, appealed to the Amphictyons, and procured an order that the islanders should restore the stolen goods. Those who had not shared in the plunder, refused to contribute to the restitution, saying that those who had pillaged should make good the loss. But the pirates, fearing that they might be forced to restore what they had taken, wrote to Cimon, pressing him to take possession of the island, which they were ready to surrender to him. Cimon, having gained possession of the island, drove out the Dolopes, and cleared the Ægean sea of the pirates that infested it.

6. Cimon was informed, while in Scyros, that Theseus having retired to that island had been treacherously killed there by Lycomedes, the king, who was afraid of the anger of the Athenians if he gave him protection. Cimon employed every means in his power to discover the tomb of Theseus; for the Athenians had been lately ordered by an oracle of Apollo to bring back his bones to Athens, and to render to him the honours of a hero. No one knew where he was buried; and the Scyrians would not acknowledge that he had been killed in their island, nor permit any one to search for his tomb. But Cimon pursued the search with such diligence, that at last he found it. He placed the remains on board his galley, magnificently adorned, and carried them back to his country eight hundred years after the departure of Theseus from Athens. The Athenians were so gratified at receiving the bones of their ancient hero,

that they commemorated the event by a contest between their greatest tragic poets. This contest is also celebrated in their history. Sophocles, then a young man, brought out his first tragedy. Aphepsion, the archon, seeing that there was a strong party spirit among the auditors, was unwilling to draw lots for the appointment of judges in the usual manner. Cimon, with the other generals, entered the theatre and offered the libations to the presiding deity. The archon would not allow them to withdraw, but made them take an oath; and act as the judges, their number being ten, one out of each tribe. The dignity of the judges increased the emulation of the competitors. The prize was adjudged to Sophocles. Æschylus was so disappointed that he could no longer live at Athens, but retired to Sicily, where he died, and was buried near the city of Gela.

7. Ion, the tragic poet, relates that when he was a young man, lately come from Chios, he supped one evening at the house of Laomedon with Cimon. After supper and the evening libations, Cimon was asked to sing. The company were so delighted with his singing that they overwhelmed him with their praises: they said he was more polished than Themistocles, who, when he was asked to sing at a feast, replied that he "could neither sing nor play on the harp, but that he could exalt a small and poor city into grandeur and wealth." When the singing was over, the conversation turned upon the actions of Cimon: each of the company recited that action of Cimon which appeared to him to be the noblest. For his own part, Cimon mentioned the following stratagem, which he looked on as the most sensible thing he had ever done. The allies had taken a great many prisoners from the Barbarians, in the cities of Sestos and Byzantium; and they honoured Cimon by asking him to divide the spoil among them. Cimon placed on one side all the prisoners, stripped naked, and on the other side all their wealth and ornaments. The allies complained of this division as being unequal. Cimon gave them their choice, saying, "The Athenians will be content to take the share which you refuse." Herophytus of Samos advised the allies to take the wealth of the Persians rather than their persons: the prisoners fell to the share of the Athenians. As the allies carried away the golden chains, collars, and bracelets, with the scarlet and purple

dresses, they laughed at the Athenians with their naked slaves, who were so ill-fitted for labour; but, soon after, the relations and friends of the prisoners came from Phrygia and Lydia, to ransom them with great sums of money. With this money Cimon supported his fleet for four months, besides sending a large quantity of gold to the public treasury at Athens.

8. Cimon had now acquired great riches. The wealth he obtained in warring with the Barbarians, he spent on his fellow-citizens. He threw open his fields and his gardens to the free use both of Athenians and of strangers. Every day he provided a frugal supper for large companies, that the poorer citizens might be sure of food without being compelled to hard labour, and might thus devote their leisure to the affairs of the republic. Aristotle, indeed, says that this supper was not given to all the poor Athenians indiscriminately, but to those of Cimon's own ward.

9. When Cimon walked in the streets of Athens, he was attended by a large party of well-dressed persons; and when they met with an aged person, meanly clothed, he made one of his domestics change garments with him; and there was not a poor citizen in Athens who did not think it an honour to receive this public mark of Cimon's liberality. The attendants likewise carried money with them, which they secretly put into the hands of the most respectable-looking of the poor men assembled in the Public Place. He surpassed all the ancient Athenians in liberality. They had gloried in teaching men to sow the land, to open fountains, and to make fire useful to them; but Cimon, by throwing his house open, and by abandoning the first-fruits of his fields at all seasons, was believed to have brought back the golden age. There were not wanting those who ascribed all this liberality to Cimon's ambition to ingratiate himself with the people; but this was refuted by the whole tenor of his life. He was a favourer of aristocracy; he leaned to the Spartan form of government; he joined Aristeides in opposing Themistocles the champion of democracy; he opposed Ephialtes in his attempt to gratify the people by abolishing the court of Areopagus. While all other statesmen, excepting Aristeides and Ephialtes, were enriching themselves by the plunder of the public,

Cimon maintained his disinterestedness to the end of his life. A Barbarian, named Rhæsaces, left the Persian party, and came, with great riches, to Athens. There he was harassed by calumniators who sought to make him hated by the people. He went for protection to the house of Cimon, placing within the vestibule two large vases filled, the one with gold, and the other with silver, coins. When Cimon saw them he smiled, saying to Rhæsaces, "Would you have me for your pensioner, or for your friend?" "For my friend," replied the Barbarian. "Then," said Cimon, "take back your gold and silver; for, as your friend, I can use them when I want."

10. The allies of Athens continued to pay their share of the taxes of the confederacy; but, weary of the wars, and anxious to cultivate their lands in peace, they no longer sent either men or ships. Other generals made the Athenian government odious to these allies, by using force to compel them to furnish the requisite proportion of men and of ships. Cimon showed his sagacity by adopting an opposite course. From those of the Greeks who did not choose to serve, he took money and empty ships, leaving them to those peaceful occupations and indulgences which soon converted warlike men into timid husbandmen and traders. But by accustoming the Athenians to every kind of hardship and activity, they grew to be powerful at the expense of the others, who soon became their tributaries rather than their allies.

11. No man did so much as Cimon in humbling the pride of the king of Persia. Having driven him from Greece, he left him no time to breathe, but ravaged his country, seized many of his cities, obliged not a few to abandon him, and join the Greeks, until the Persian standard could not be seen in the whole of Asia Minor from Ionia to Pamphylia. When he heard that the Persian generals were on the coast of Pamphylia, with a large army, accompanied by a numerous fleet, he wished to confine them within the Chalcedonian isles; and with this view he sailed from Cnidos and Triopium, with two hundred ships which Themistocles had constructed for quick action, but which were now enlarged, by platforms projecting over each side, to admit of a larger number of combatants. He arrived at Phaselis, a Grecian city on the Pamphylian coast;

but the people would neither admit his ships into their harbours, nor declare against the king of Persia Cimon laid waste their country, and approached their walls to besiege them. The Chians iu Cimon's fleet were ancient friends of the Phaselites. They used their best efforts to pacify the anger of Cimon, and, at the same time, sent letters, discharged from their arrows, to the citizens. They succeeded in persuading the Phaselites to pay down ten talents, and to join the Greeks against the Persians.

12. We learn from Callisthenes that Ariomades the Persian commander was lying at the mouth of the Eurymedon, waiting for a reinforcement of eighty Phœnician ships from Cyprus, before he would venture to meet with the Greeks. Cimon determined to force him to a battle before the expected fleet arrived. To avoid this, the Persians entered the river: Cimon followed them. The foremost of the Persians got on shore, and escaped to the army which was not far off. The rest suffered dreadfully from the Greeks. It is a proof of the largeness of the Persian fleet, that though many of the ships probably escaped, and not a few were burned, or sunk, not fewer than two hundred were captured by the Athenians.

13. The Persian army now came down to the sea-coast. Cimon apprehended that it might be too hazardous to embark his own wearied troops in the presence of so formidable an enemy, fresh for conflict. But when he saw his men, cheered by their recent victory, and panting to engage the Barbarians, he gave orders for his hevay infantry warm from the previous engagement, to land. They leaped on the shore with loud shouts, and rushed impetuously on the Persians. The Persians received the shock with firmness. The battle was terrible. Many of the noblest and bravest of the Athenians fell. In the end, the Persians were routed, and great numbers of them were killed. As many as did not perish by the sword were taken prisoners, and the victors found their tents full of riches.

14. Thus Cimon, in one day, surpassed the glories of Salamis at sea, and of Platæa on the land: and to these he added yet another trophy, by defeating the Phœnician fleet, for which the Persians had been waiting. The king of Persia now agreed to sign that famous treaty by which

he was bound to keep at the distance of fifty miles from the Grecian seas, and to confine his ships within the Cyanean and Chilidonian isles. The Athenians raised an altar to Peace. They, likewise, decreed public honours to Callias, the ambassador who negotiated this peace with the king of Persia. From the spoils of their victories, they built the south wall of the citadel, and commenced the long walls, afterwards completed, at great expense, which joined the city to Piræus. At his own charge, Cimon laid the foundation in the marshes. He was the first Athenian that adorned the city with those elegant places of exercise which became so famous. He planted the Agora with beautiful plane-trees. He converted the barren Academus into a delightful park, abounding in cooling fountains, and well shaded walks.

15. News came to Athens that the Persians refused to abandon the Thracian Chersonesus, and had called the people of Upper Thrace to their assistance. Cimon went against them with four ships: and though they looked with contempt on so small a force, thirteen of their own ships were immediately captured. Cimon then drove them from the country; forced the Thracians to submit; and reduced the entire Chersonesus under the power of the Athenians. The islanders of Thasos having lately revolted from Athens, Cimon defeated them in a great naval battle, captured thirty-three of their ships, took their city by storm, and gained possession of their gold mines, and all their lands on the neighbouring continent. From Samos it would have been easy to pass over into Macedonia, and to conquer a great part of the country. But Cimon did not avail himself of this opportunity. For this reason, his enemies accused him of being bribed by Alexander. In his defence before the judges, he said, "I have never formed any alliance with the wealthy Ionians, nor with the Thessalians, as other generals have; but I have allied myself with the Macedonians, preferring their simplicity, frugality, and temperance, to all the riches in the world: let it be my glory to enrich my fellow-citizens from the spoils of their enemies." He was fully acquitted.

16. So long as Cimon ruled in the city, he was continually checking the encroachments of the people on the authority of the nobles. But, during his absence with the

army, they succeeded, with the help of Ephialtes and Pericles, in establishing a pure democracy. On his return, Cimon laboured to restore such an aristocracy as had been established in the time of Cleisthenes; but his enemies raised a cry against him. Amongst the charges, was that of his attachment to the Spartans. The Spartans had, indeed, contributed not a little to his advancement, for they supported him as a rival to Themistocles. The Athenians had viewed this favour of the Spartans towards Cimon with satisfaction, so long as, by his means, their own growing importance among the Grecian states was promoted. But now that they had become powerful, they were jealous of that regard for Sparta which Cimon displayed; for in speaking to them he was continually exalting the Spartans. Above all, they hated him, because, when he wished to condemn any of their actions, he was in the habit of saying, "The Spartans would not have done that."

17. But the final stroke fell on Cimon, because of his zeal on behalf of the Spartans, when they were brought into trouble by a great earthquake, and by the attacks of the Helotes joined by the Messenians. In their distress, the Spartans sent Pericleidas to Athens, to ask for help. Ephialtes opposed the request, insisting that they should humble the pride of their rivals, by leaving Sparta buried in ruins. Critias says that Cimon, preferring the welfare of Sparta to the glory of Athens, captivated the people by his eloquence, and marched to the help of Sparta with four thousand infantry. Ion gives us the very words by which he prevailed with the greater part of the Athenians: "Let us not leave Greece maimed, and Athens without a companion." Returning through Sparta, Cimon marched with his army through Corinth. Lachartus, the Corinthian commander, complained bitterly of his bringing his troops to Corinth, without asking leave of the citizens. "Though one may knock at a man's door," he said, "yet we do not enter till he bids us." Cimon promptly replied, "But you, Lachartus, did not knock at the door of Cleone and Megara; you broke them, and you entered, pretending that every place should be open to the strongest." Thus rebuking the Corinthian commander, Cimon pursued his journey. It was not long before the Spartans, again harassed by the Helotes and Messenians at Ithome, ap-

pealed a second time to the Athenians. But when the Athenian succours arrived, the Spartans insulted them by sending them back, as men whom they feared, but could not trust. The Athenians returned home, swearing enmity against all who sided with the Spartans.

18. On a very slight pretext, they banished Cimon for ten years. But at the battle of Tanagra, notwithstanding his banishment, he displayed his patriotism by taking his place in his own tribe, fighting for Athens against Sparta. The Council of Five Hundred, fearing that his presence would only awaken the suspicions of his enemies, sent express orders to the officers not to receive him. He was, therefore, obliged to withdraw, but not before he addressed Entippus and other companions who were most suspected of favouring the Spartans, exhorting them to vindicate themselves from the unjust suspicion, by fighting nobly for their country. These brave men, about a hundred in number, fired by his words, begged Cimon's suit of armour, which they placed in the midst of their small battalion, and fought side by side around it, till every one of them was slain. The Athenians deeply mourned their loss, and more deeply repented of the unjust suspicions which they had harboured against them. For this reason, their displeasure against Cimon soon abated. They could not but be softened by the remembrance of his extraordinary services; and they were now in great difficulties. They had been beaten at Tanagra: another army was coming against them from the Peloponnesus in the approaching spring. Cimon, accordingly, was recalled. It was Pericles himself, his great rival, that proposed the decree for Cimon's recall: so much did the civil and political animosities, excited by ambition, give way to the demands of the public good.

19. The first act of Cimon, after his return, was to effect a reconciliation between Sparta and Athens. He knew that the Athenians could not rest. Fearing that their large fleet, cruising near the isles and along the Peloponnesian coasts, might disturb the tranquillity of Greece, he fitted out two hundred ships for Egypt and Cyprus. He thus accustomed the Athenians to war with Barbarians; and, at the same time, he enriched them, by enabling them to bring home to Athens the spoils of their

natural enemies. Cimon sent sixty of his ships to Egypt, and with the remainder he went, once more, to the coast of Pamphylia. There he defeated the Persian navy. He made himself master of all the neighbouring cities.

20. Cimon was incapable of any designs but such as were considered grand. He aimed at nothing less than the total destruction of the Persian empire. He was stimulated to this enterprise by his jealousy of Themistocles, when he learned what power he had in the Persian court, because of his promise to conduct their army. But it is said, that with all these magnificent promises, Themistocles, despairing of success against the fortune and virtue of Cimon, put himself to death.

21. As a signal of the grand projects which he had formed, Cimon anchored his fleet in the roads of Cyprus. From thence he sent some chosen friends to consult the oracle of Jupiter on some secret matters. As they entered the temple, the oracle ordered them to return; "for Cimon is already with me." At these words, they hastened back towards the sea. When they reached the camp of the Greeks, on the Egyptian coast, they were told of Cimon's death. The greater number of historians affirm that Cimon died of disease at the siege of Citium, in Cyprus; others say, he died of a wound which he received in fighting the Barbarians. His last words charged his officers to conduct the fleet to Athens, but carefully to conceal his death. The order was so punctually fulfilled, that they had reached their ports in safety before any of their enemies, or even of their allies, knew that Cimon was dead. Cimon, though dead, still conducted and commanded his fleet for thirty days, as Phanodemus has expressed it.

22. There were none of the Grecians who did anything great against the Barbarians, after Cimon. Swayed by their orators, who were mighty firebrands and fomenters of quarrels, they broke into open war among themselves, without any one to interpose between them. They thus afforded a season of respite to the Persians; but by the same means they brought irreparable ruin upon Greece. After the lapse of many years, it is true, Agesilaus renewed the war with the Persian satraps in the maritime provinces of Asia Minor: but he had not time to accomplish much; new disturbances in Greece forced him to return. The

Persian collectors were seen levying their imposts on the allies of Greece. While Cimon ruled, not one of these officers was to be observed within fifty miles of any part of the coast.

23. The tomb of Cimon might be seen for many ages at Athens. There was also a tomb of Cimon at Citium, which the inhabitants held in great veneration; they worshipped him as a superior being.

24. We should lose the advantage to be gained from what we know of Cimon, if we failed to observe the contrast between his youth and his subsequent character. It is probable that more persons are ruined for life by indolence than by any other cause. The idle tempt the tempter. They have no defence against the power of their own desires and passions. They become the prey of idlers like themselves. The powers which might have been used for the good of their families, of their country, and even of the human race, have not been merely lost to the community; they have been used against it. We cannot pass our lives in merely doing no harm. Not to do good is to do harm. To neglect any duty is a positive mischief. For not doing what they could have done, and therefore ought to have done, many will be condemned at last. No lesson, therefore, is more practically of use to the young man than this: "Never be idle." Among the advantages of constant occupation it is not the least, that it affords the opportunity for taking us away from numberless evils, by keeping our thoughts employed, by leading us to feel the true value of the powers with which God has endowed us, and when we so feel, by strengthening the power of the mind, of the judgment, and of the conscience, over every inclination of the heart.

25. It is most true, as we are taught by the Scriptures, that men never act from such motives as are approved in the sight of God, unless the love of God is the mainspring of all our actions; and that the love of God is far from the human heart, until it is renewed by Divine grace. The frightful immoralities of Cimon's youth, which were not wholly abandoned even in his more active years, may surely be referred to as showing how little was done in Greece for the purifying of the human heart; or rather, how much was done to increase its impurity, before the introduc-

tion of the gospel. And it is but a poor acknowledgment of the mercy of God in giving us the gospel, to shut our eyes to the unspeakable advantages with which it surrounds us from our very childhood. It is well to consider, at the same time, that if, with all his private faults, Cimon attained to so high a reputation among the Greeks for his generosity and devotion to the happiness of others, according to both his view and their view of happiness, it is only reasonable to expect that a much higher character will be formed, under the light and culture of a Christian education. More than a merely rational amusement may thus be derived from the biography of this admired Athenian. In his exact steps we are not called to follow. We have to do with a different state of the world: our business is with peace, not with war; with Christianity instead of the dreams and follies of heathenism; with large plans that bear upon the lasting welfare of all nations, rather than on the power and glory of a single city. But why should we not be inspired by nobler principles to nobler deeds? Let us aim at conquering, first ourselves, by the grace of God; and then it will not be a vain ambition to aspire to overcoming the world.

26. Cimon died with his mind full of splendid schemes. How many die with nothing but schemes in their minds! —schemes that, if accomplished, would end in worldly glory—but schemes which are broken by death. There is a plan of life, a mode of preparing for futurity, which is in itself grander, and which death cannot break: it is the plan laid down for us in the New Testament: it is described and urged, and exemplified by the champions of the faith. The plan is that of living for eternity; living by faith on the Son of God; living, not to ourselves, our country, or the world, but to Him "who loved us and gave Himself for us." He who lives thus, lives well. He lives for ever—not on the pages of history, but in the presence of God. His work on earth is accepted for the sake of his Redeemer. The fruits of his labours survive him. He leaves behind him a stream of light by which others are guided to safety, and to peace. And, in the end, his glory will be perfect and enduring in that world of which he was a citizen, while yet a pilgrim here.

LIFE OF PERICLES.

B.C. 427.

1. Pericles was the son of Xanthippus who defeated the Persian army at Mycale, and of Agariste, niece of Cleisthenes who had expelled the family of Peisistratus from Athens. Under the pretence of receiving lessons in music, he acquired skill in the art of politics from Damon, who was banished as a supporter of tyranny, by the ostracism. His natural philosophy he learned from Zeno of Elea. But the grandeur of soul which shone through his actions and manners, he owed to the lessons of Anaxagoras. That philosopher was so highly esteemed for his great knowledge and understanding in teaching that the world was not the result of necessity or chance, but the work of a pure and simple mind, that he was known among the people of those times by the name of *Nous*, or intelligence. Filled with admiration of this great philosopher, and enriched by his instructions, Pericles acquired not only a lofty and majestic eloquence, but such a command of look, voice, and deportment, as to astonish all who beheld him.

2. As an illustration of his dignity of manner, it is related that when a man of worthless character had been abusing him for a whole day, Pericles took it calmly without uttering a word, retaining his seat and dispatching his business. When evening came, he walked quietly to his own house, followed by the same person, pouring out volleys of insult and reproach. As soon as he had reached his threshold, he coolly ordered one of his servants to take a torch and lead the man to his own abode.

3. While Pericles was young, he was in great fear of the people: for his countenance, voice, and powers of language reminded them of Peisistratus; and being rich, of high birth, and surrounded by numerous and powerful friends, he was in danger of being banished by the ostracism. For this reason, though he displayed great bravery in war, he avoided making himself too prominent in the public affairs of the state. But, after the death of Aristeides, and the banishment of Themistocles, when Cimon was engaged in distant expeditions, he endeavoured to secure the favour of the popular party, by reserving himself for only great occa-

sions, and by cultivating his powers of eloquence. He soon excelled all the other orators of Athens. Thucydides, who long opposed the measures of Pericles, was asked by Archidamus, one of the kings of Sparta, "Whether are you or Pericles the greater wrestler?" to which he replied, "When I have thrown him, he maintains that he is not down; and he makes all the spectators believe him." So careful was Pericles in his public speaking, that he always prayed—that he might not "utter an imprudent, unnecessary, or improper word."

4. As Pericles was inferior in fortune to Cimon, who spent his wealth in relieving the poor, he procured a decree by which entertainments were provided for the people; and they were paid for their attendance at courts of justice, out of the public treasury. In this way he attached the multitude to his interest, and raised a party against the council of Areopagus to remove several causes from their jurisdiction. Through his influence with the people he secured the banishment of Cimon, by the ostracism, for ten years. Long before the expiration of that time, Cimon had joined his own tribe against the Spartans at the battle of Tanagra; but he was repulsed as an exile by the friends of Pericles; and all the friends of Cimon fell upon the battle-field. Soon after this, however, Pericles yielded to the wishes of the Athenians in recalling Cimon, through whose mediation peace was secured with the Spartans.

5. After Cimon's death, in the expedition to Cyprus, the Athenian nobles raised up Thucydides, Cimon's brother-in-law, as a balance against the popular ascendency of Pericles. For this reason, Pericles used every means of gratifying the populace. He kept up a constant variety of festivals and processions. He equipped sixty galleys, which he manned with citizens for eight months in the year. He sent colonies to the Chersonesus, to Naxos, to Andros, to Thrace, and to Italy,—thus ridding himself of idle and needy citizens, and keeping those among whom they were placed in awe.

6. Pericles laid out large sums on the embellishment of Athens by stately temples and other public buildings—the Parthenon, the Odeum, the Long Walls, the Propylæa. By the erection of these magnificent structures, he gave employment, at the public charge, to numerous classes of merchants, artists, carpenters, masons, and other artificers,

as well as common labourers; and while he adorned the city, he diffused plenty among men of every rank. When his enemies accused him of wasting the public treasury, he asked the people, in full assembly,—"Do you think I have expended too much? If so, charge it to me; only let my name, not yours, be inscribed on these buildings." The people answered him by telling him to spend as much as he pleased. His growing popularity, at length, decided the long contest between himself and his rival Thucydides. Thucydides was banished, and the party that supported him was entirely withdrawn.—Pericles thus became sole master of Athens. He disposed, at his pleasure, of the finances, the army, and the navy; he ruled the sea and the islands; he was lord of the vast empire which stretched over Barbarians as well as Greeks, cemented by the fidelity of obedient nations, by the treaties of princes, and the friendship of kings. From this time he completely changed his mode of dealing with the Athenian people. His government assumed the form of a monarchy. Aiming always at the good of the people, he went on in a straightforward path, sometimes by advice and counsel leading them, and, at other times, forcing them to measures for their own welfare: imitating the wise physician who, in healing a malady of long-standing, and of shifting symptoms, administers in one stage such medicines as the patient likes, and in another such as he dislikes, but aiming equally at the recovery of his health.

7. Among a people of so much power, and enjoying so large an empire as the Athenians, it was impossible that there should not be strong and deeply rooted passions. Pericles alone was capable of ruling them. He knew how to work upon their hopes and their fears, touching them like a skilful player on an instrument. He did this, not by eloquence alone, but by the integrity of his character: for having raised Athens to the highest pitch of wealth and grandeur, and having surpassed in power many kings, and even tyrants, who have left their territories to their children, Pericles did not increase his paternal fortune by a single drachma. Nor was it for a brief moment, or during the sunshine of one administration, but for the long period of forty years that Pericles enjoyed this high pre-eminence, amid the rivalry of such men as Ephialtes, Leocrates, Myronides, Cimon, Tolmides, and Thucydides. The power

which other men possessed separately for a single year, centred in him for life.

8. Pericles was untainted with avarice, though he was not negligent of his private affairs. He adopted a most exact and easy method of management. Every year he sold all the produce of his lands at once, and out of that revenue he met the expenses of his family day by day: a method, indeed, which was little relished by his children when they grew up, and by the females of his house, who contrasted the rigour of such economy with the superfluity which abounded in the houses of the great and wealthy. His private affairs were superintended by an aged domestic named Evangelus. Anaxagoras pursued a different plan. Absorbed in the enthusiasm of his studies, he abandoned all earthly cares, forsook his houses, and left his fields to the beasts. But the practical wisdom of the statesman was not without advantage even to the philosopher. It is said that Anaxagoras, seeing himself neglected in his old age by Pericles, now too much occupied with public business to think about his friend, covered his head with his mantle, resolved to die of hunger. Pericles, hearing of this, hastened to Anaxagoras; and with tears and prayers, entreated him to prolong his days, telling him that it was for himself he wept, if he should be so unhappy as to lose a friend so wise, so faithful, so able to give him the best counsel in the pressing necessities of the state. Anaxagoras, partially uncovering his head, replied to him: "Pericles, they who need the light of a lamp ought to supply it with oil."

9. The greatness of Athens excited the jealousy of Sparta. But Pericles, resolving to raise the courage and capacity of the citizens still higher, passed a decree, that all the Greeks in Europe and Asia should be invited to send deputies to Athens, to consult on the means of restoring the temples which had been burned by the Barbarians; to perform the sacrifices which had been vowed during the war, for the safety of Greece; and to concert measures for putting their naval affairs on such a footing, that they might navigate the seas in safety and peace. Twenty persons, of venerable age, were sent on this embassy to the various states of Greece; but the proposal was not carried into effect, chiefly from the opposition made to it by the Spartans.

10. The military expeditions of Pericles were distinguished by their wisdom and their safety. He would not engage in hazardous undertakings, having but a low opinion of those commanders whose fame was built on rash measures, in which they had happened to succeed. It was his habit to say to the Athenians, "So far as my power goes, you shall be immortal." When he saw Tolmides, son of Tolmæus, inflated by former victories, and proud of his great reputation, projecting an invasion of Bœotia, at a badly-chosen season, and drawing after him more than a thousand of the bravest and most honourable of the young Athenians as volunteers, in addition to the regular troops, Pericles publicly endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose, saying, "If you heed not Pericles, listen to Time, the best of counsellors." His words made little impression at the moment; but, a few days after, tidings were brought that Tolmides and most of his associates were killed at Coronæa: then the warning of Pericles was remembered, and admired as a proof both of his wisdom and of his love for his fellow-citizens.

11. The most famous expedition of Pericles was that to the Chersonesus, during which he not only added a thousand Athenians to the Greeks living there, but protected them from the incursions of the Thracians, who lived upon their borders, by a fortified wall, stretching entirely across the Isthmus. The undertaking most celebrated by foreigners, was that of sailing with a hundred vessels round the entire coasts of the Peloponnesus. Setting out from Pegæ, in Megara, he cruelly ravaged the cities near the sea, and forced the people in the interior to take shelter in their towns. He defeated the Sicyonians in a battle near Nemea. Recruiting his forces from Achaia, he sailed round the western side of Greece, passed the entrance to the Achelous, pillaged Acarnania, drove the Æneadæ within their walls; and, having shown his enemies his power, by the wasting of their territories, he returned to Athens, without meeting with even the most casual disaster, to receive the admiration of the citizens for his courage and his sacrifice of justice and humanity for the establishment of their dominion.

12. Pericles took a large and nobly-equipped fleet to Pontus, where he obtained for the Grecian cities in that

quarter all the favours they required, treating them with great benignity. At the same time, he displayed to the neighbouring barbarous nations, with their kings and princes, the power of the Athenians, by showing them how fearlessly they passed along the sea. With the people of Sinope he left thirteen ships, with troops to defend them from the tyrant Timesileon; and, when the tyrant, with his whole party, was driven away, Pericles published a decree, permitting six hundred Athenians to establish themselves at Sinope, and possess the houses and lands which had been held by the ejected party.

13. The Athenians were so lifted up by their successes, that their heads were filled with magnificent schemes of conquest. They talked of recovering Egypt—of attacking the maritime dominions of the Persian king—of subduing Etruria and Carthage; and many were already smitten with that unhappy passion for conquering Sicily, which was afterwards so inflamed by the orators in the days of Alcibiades. But Pericles restrained this impetuosity; he aimed chiefly at strengthening their hold of their actual possessions, though now, as always, he was anxious to repress the ambition of the Spartans. Thus, when the Spartans restored to the citizens of Delphi the temple which the Phocians had seized, no sooner had they departed, than Pericles gave back the temple to the Phocians; and as the Spartans had engraved on the *front* of the brazen wolf, that the Delphians had granted them the right of first consulting the oracle, Pericles claimed that right for the Athenians, by an inscription on the *side* of the image.

14. The wisdom of confining the efforts of the Athenians to Greece was soon made apparent. The Eubœans revolted; and Pericles was obliged to march against them. Then the Megaraeans took arms. At the same time, the Spartans, led by Pleistoanax, their young king, were on the attic frontier. Pericles flew from Eubœa to the rescue of Athens. Unwilling, however, to combat so large and well-disciplined an army, he bribed Cleandridas, the counsellor of the royal youth; and their forces were withdrawn. As Pericles, in the accounts which he rendered of his administration, had put down ten talents "for necessary uses," yet not specifying what the uses were, the people allowed the account to pass without investigation. According to Theo-

phrastus and other writers, Pericles sent ten talents every year to Sparta, to delay the proceedings of the magistrates, that he might gain time to make preparations for war.

15. As soon as the Spartans had retired from Attica, Pericles returned to Eubœa with fifty ships, and five thousand men. He reduced the revolted cities to obedience. He drove away from the island the Hippobatæ, who were Chalcidians of great wealth and authority. He also banished the Hestiæans, and gave their possessions to a colony of Athenians; a severity with which he punished them, for putting to death the entire crew of an Athenian ship which had fallen into their hands.

16. About five years after the Spartans and Athenians had made a treaty of peace for thirty years, Pericles resolved on attacking Samos. The pretended reason of this attack was that the Samians had disobeyed an order to bring to an end their war with the Milesians, for the city of Priene, and to leave the Athenians to settle their dispute. But it is believed that the true reason of the enterprise was the desire of Pericles to gratify Aspasia, a Milesian lady, who had acquired great influence over him at Athens. To that island he sailed with a considerable fleet, overturned their government, and sent fifty of the principal inhabitants, with fifty children, as hostages, to Lemnos. There are some authors who say that each of the hostages offered a talent for his ransom, and that large sums were sent to Pericles for the same purpose by those in the island, who dreaded a democratic government, and by Pissuthnes, the Persian commander at Sardis, who had secret reasons for favouring the Samians. But Pericles was inexorable. He refused the offers of money; and having set up a democracy in Samos, returned to Athens.

17. After the departure of Pericles the Samians revolted, having recovered their hostages by means of Pissuthnes. Pericles returned, and found them prepared for war; but in a keenly fought battle near the isle of Tragia, opposite Samos, he gained the victory over a fleet much larger than his own, and pursuing his advantage, took the harbour of Samos, and besieged the city. The Samians defended their city with great spirit, making furious sallies from day to day, until Pericles, reinforced by the arrival of a large fleet from Athens, compelled them to fall back within their walls. He

then proceeded with sixty vessels to the Mediterranean, for the purpose of meeting a Phœnician fleet coming to the relief of Samos, and engaging them at as great a distance as possible from that island. Whatever his purpose was, he seems to have fallen into a great error by going away; for Melissus, son of Ithagenes, a philosopher, who was then the general of the Samians, despising the small number of vessels left by Pericles, and the want of experience in their commanders, persuaded his people to make an assault upon them. A bloody conflict ensued, in which the Samians were victorious: they took a great number of prisoners, sank a great part of the Athenian fleet, and brought into Samos a large quantity of stores and provisions necessary for standing out a long siege. Aristotle relates that Pericles himself had already been vanquished by Melissus in another naval combat. The victorious Samians branded their prisoners on the forehead with the image of an owl, to retaliate the insult of the Athenians in branding their Samian captives with the image of a Samian ship. When Pericles heard what had happened, he returned once more, with increased force, routed Melissus in a great battle, and surrounded the city with a wall, choosing to conquer the enemy by time and expense, rather than by the blood of the Athenians. After a blockade of nine months, the Samians yielded. Pericles beat down the walls of their city, took away their ships, and demanded prodigious sums of money to defray the cost of the war: part of the demand they paid at the time, and gave hostages for the security of the rest.

18. Duris of Samos, to make the capture more tragical, reproached the Athenians, especially Pericles, with unexampled barbarities; of which, however, there is no trace in Thucydides, nor in Aristotle, nor in Ephorus. There is no appearance of truth in the account of Duris: for he says that Pericles led the Samian soldiers, and the commanders of their ships, into the forum of Miletus, where they were fastened to stakes for ten days, and afterwards beaten to death with clubs, their very corpses being insulted by refusing them the honours of a funeral. But as Duris, even when not carried away by passion, was very apt to go beyond the truth, he exaggerated the sufferings of his

countrymen to excite the hatred of his readers against the Athenians.

19. Returning from the conquest of Samos, Pericles celebrated the funeral obsequies of the Athenians who had fallen in that war, with great magnificence, and pronounced the accustomed oration over their tombs. When he descended from the place where he had spoken, the women ran to embrace him, and covered him with chaplets as a victor in the public games. Elpinice, the sister of Cimon, drawing near to him all alone, said—"Truly, Pericles, these are noble exploits, well deserving crowns, to have lost so many citizens, not in warring—like my brother Cimon—with the Phœnicians and the Medes, but in ruining a city which is allied to us by the same ancestry as our own!" It is said that Pericles merely smiled, repeating with a low voice, this verse of Archilochus—

"When thou art old, cease to anoint thy head."

It is related by Ion, that Pericles was exceedingly proud of this Samian victory, saying, "King Agamemnon was ten years in taking a barbarous city, but, in nine months, I have become master of the richest and most flourishing city of the Ionians." It must be owned that his boasting was not without foundation: it was a bloody war; the success was for a long time doubtful; and the Samians had well nigh wrested from the Athenians the empire of the sea.

20. Pericles, foreseeing that the Peloponnesian war must soon break out, was desirous of attaching to the interest of Athens the people of Corcyra, who commanded a large naval force; and with this view he persuaded the Athenians to send help to the Corcyræans, then at war with the Corinthians. Ten ships were sent, under charge of Lacedæmonius the son of Cimon. Between the family of Cimon and the Spartans there had long been a strong feeling of friendship; and Pericles committed this small fleet to Cimon's son, as part of a system by which he was continually trying to bring dishonour on that family, whose very names—Lacedæmonius, Thessalus, Eleus—he represented as proving that they were not genuine Athenians; and whom he was not unwilling to have suspected of a

strong leaning towards the Spartans. But when he found that the ten ships sent to Corcyra were regarded as too few to be of any service, and that the sending of them was likely to afford his enemies some ground of accusation against himself, he sent a larger number, which did not arrive until the battle was over.

21. The Corinthians, offended at the part taken by the Athenians in this movement, carried their complaints against them to Sparta. The Megaræans, also, alleged that the Athenians had broken the law of nations, and the oaths taken by the Greeks for the establishment of peace, by shutting them out of all the marts and harbours of Attica and her dependencies. The Æginetans, likewise, feeling themselves aggrieved and oppressed, joined the other states in openly complaining against the Athenians. The city of Potidæa, a Corinthian colony, subject to Athens, revolted, and the Athenians laid siege to it. In the meantime, ambassadors came to Athens; and Archidamus, king of Sparta, spared no pains in bringing all the Grecian states to a good understanding: and it is probable that all other grounds of complaint might have been settled, if the Athenians had only revoked their decree against the Megaræans. This, however, was the point which, of all others, Pericles resolved to maintain; and by the strong hatred of that people, which he fostered in the minds of the Athenians, he is justly regarded as the sole author of the Peloponnesian war. As the ambassadors urged him to revoke the decree against the Megaræans, he referred them to the law which expressly forbade the removal of the tablet on which the decree was publicly inscribed. Polyarces, one of the Spartan ambassadors, said to him,—"Then turn it; there is no law against that." But Pericles remained unmoved. It is believed that he had an unconquerable personal hatred of the Megaræans; but wishing to cover it with a veil of regard for public interests, he charged them with sacrilegiously cultivating the lands between Megara and Attica, which were sacred to the Eleusinian deities, and sent a herald to Megara to denounce the sacrilege, and, from thence to Sparta, to repeat the accusation in the presence of the council. It is certain that Pericles was the author of the decree for sending this herald, a decree containing nothing but apparent desires for peace. But the herald

died on the journey, and the Megaræans were suspected by the Athenians of having caused his death. Chorinus therefore obtained a decree in which the Athenians declared their irreconcilable hatred of the Megaræans, ordering that every Megaræan that touched their soil should be put to death; and that the Athenian generals should be required to swear expressly that they would ravage the territories of the Megaræans twice a year.

22. The Megaræans warmly resented the charge of murdering the herald, and flung it back on Pericles and Aspasia. It is not easy to point out the true cause of the war which followed; but it is agreed among all the historians, that Pericles alone prevented the abolition of the decree against the Megaræans. Some say that Pericles was convinced that the Spartans made that demand only to gain from the Athenians an acknowledgment of weakness by assenting to it, and that his obstinacy in refusing was a proof of his magnanimity and prudence. Others, however, maintain that he was swayed by a self-confident and arrogant determination to display his authority.

23. But the basest of all the reasons assigned for this war, and that of which there are the strongest proofs, was the following:—Phidias died in prison, being condemned for introducing his own likeness, and that of Pericles on the shield of Minerva. Aspasia had been prosecuted for irreligion, and for bringing persons to her house to gratify the vices of Pericles; and it was only by extraordinary and passionate appeals to the mercy of her judges, that he procured her acquittal. Anaxagoras was aimed at in a decree against those who denied the existence of the gods, or broached new opinions on appearances in the sky. As Pericles could not protect the philosopher, he induced him to leave the city, and accompanied him on his road. He was himself on the point of being called to render an account of the public money, and he feared the anger of the people on account of his regard for Phidias. Now it was to escape these impending dangers that he is said to have urged the people to refuse the demands of the Spartans, and thus lighted up the flame of war which as yet was dimly burning. The real cause of the war, however, remains uncertain.

24. The Spartans were convinced that if they could ruin

the power of Pericles, they could deal more easily with the Athenians. They therefore called on the Athenians to complete the expulsion from their city of all those who had incurred the malediction of Heaven for the crime committed long ago against the companions of Cylon: for they knew that Pericles belonged, on his mother's side, to the race which had been thus doomed. But this application was followed by a very different result from that which the Spartans expected; for instead of bringing disgrace on Pericles, it only increased his glory, and the confidence of the Athenians in him, by showing him that it was he, above all others, whom their enemies both hated and feared. For this reason, likewise, it was that before Archidamus, the leader of the Peloponnesian army, entered Attica, Pericles declared to the Athenians that if Archidamus, in wasting their property, should spare his—either because of the right of hospitality which existed between them, or to give his enemies in Athens an occasion to calumniate him as a private friend to the Spartans—from that day he gave over all his houses and lands to be the public property of the Athenians.

25. The Spartans with their allies, led by Archidamus, entered Attica in great force; and after desolating the country, they encamped at the village Achorucea, hoping that the Athenians would come out and meet them in battle. But Pericles was unwilling to fight an army of sixty thousand of the bravest warriors of Bœotia, with the Peloponnesians, before the walls of Athens. The people, indeed, were impatient for the combat; but Pericles endeavoured to calm them by saying—"When trees are cut down they will reappear in a short time; but when men are dead the loss can never be repaired." He was very reluctant to call assemblies of the people, lest any one should succeed in leading them against the enemy, in opposition to his own plans. Like a good pilot in a storm, who, after giving his orders, and using his best precautions against danger, applies his art without regarding the tears and cries of the sick and affrighted passengers, Pericles, having closed the gates, and stationed the guards, followed the counsels of his own prudence, giving no heed to the complaints which assailed him on every side. His friends made every effort to move him by entreaties; his enemies endeavoured to shake him by

their threats and reproaches; and he was abused in a thousand songs and satires, as a man devoid of energy, who was leaving the people to become the prey of the invaders. Cleon was one of those who loudly inveighed against him, taking advantage of the passions of the people to wind himself into their good graces.

26. But Pericles braved it all. Contenting himself with sending a hundred ships to the Peloponnesus, he remained at home, holding a tight rein upon the people until their enemies withdrew. To amuse and gratify the citizens who were weary of this inactive mode of warfare, he divided among them the lands of the Æginetans whom he had driven from their possessions. The sufferings borne by the enemy also gave them some solace in their own misery. The navy sent to Peloponnesus sacked a great number of towns and villages, through a wide extent of country. Pericles himself headed an expedition against the Megaræans, whom he entirely ruined. The enemy's army, which inflicted much injury on the Athenians by land, received not less injury on the sea; they could not have carried on the war so long—as Pericles foretold from the beginning—if an Unseen Power had not frustrated the councils of human wisdom.

27. First of all there arose in Athens a *plague* so violent that it cut off the flower of their youth, and terribly thinned their forces. The malady soured the minds of the people against Pericles. Like frantic persons enraged at their own physician or their father, the Athenians charged Pericles as the cause of the pestilence, by bringing such crowds of people from the fresh air and active employments of the country, to infect each other by their close confinement and want of occupation.

28. To relieve this misery, and to annoy the authors of the war, Pericles embarked a large force, both of foot and horse, in a hundred and fifty ships. By this act he inspired the Athenians with hope, and struck their enemies with fear. No sooner was the embarkation completed, than suddenly the sun was eclipsed, and the earth was wrapped in shade. Consternation and terror ran through the fleet, at what they regarded as a dismal presage. Pericles, seeing his pilot confounded, covered his eyes with one of the folds of his cloak, and said—"Do you take this for a dreadful sign?" "No," replied the pilot.

"Then what difference," added Pericles, "do you see between my cloak and the cause of that eclipse; excepting that the one is larger than the other?"

29. This expedition was not attended with any result corresponding to the grandeur of the preparation. He laid siege to the sacred city of Epidaurus, of which he was in hope of soon becoming master; but his progress was stopped by a disease which spread among his troops, and all who approached his camp. In vain did he attempt to console the irritated Athenians, to appease their anger, or to regain their confidence. They discharged him from his office as their commander, and imposed on him a heavy fine, according to some, of fifteen, according to others, of fifty, talents.

30. The public resentment passed away, like the bee, which leaves its sting behind. But the private afflictions of Pericles were many and heavy. The plague had swept off a large number of his friends. Unhappy divisions prevailed for a long time in his family. Xanthippus, his eldest son, was extravagant, and had married a wife of the same disposition. Chafed by his father's economy, he borrowed money in his name. Pericles not only refused to pay his son's debt, but prosecuted his creditor for demanding it. Xanthippus avenged himself by exposing his father to ridicule, and spreading the vilest reports against him. He died of the plague. Pericles, at the same time, lost his sister, and a considerable number of other friends, on whom he placed the most reliance in the affairs of government. Under all these calamities, he bore up: the firmness of his mind was unshaken; and he was never seen to mourn, to perform obsequies, or to appear at the tomb of any of his friends, until the death of Paralus, the last of his legitimate sons. Then, astounded and broken by the stroke, he strove to preserve his natural tranquillity; but, as he placed the crown of flowers on the head of the corpse, his grief broke out in cries, sobs, and a torrent of tears.

31. The Athenians had tried all their warriors and orators; but finding none among them of sufficient energy and authority for such a charge, they longed for the return of Pericles to the government. He was shut up in his house, overwhelmed with sorrow. Alcibiades and his other

friends persuaded him to go forth and show himself; at once the people asked him to forgive their ingratitude, and Pericles, moved by their entreaties, resumed the government of the state.

32. The first public act of Pericles, after his restoration, was to cancel the law, which he had himself proposed, respecting illegitimate sons. He was apprehensive that his own name might perish. The law which he had proposed, in the height of his prosperity, when he had legitimate sons of his own, was, that no persons should be acknowledged as citizens, but those whose parents were both Athenians. Moved by the misfortunes of Pericles, the Athenians permitted him to enrol his surviving son, whose mother was not an Athenian, and who took his father's name. This son was afterwards one of the Athenian commanders who defeated the Peloponnesian fleet near the isle of Arginusæ, off the Asiatic coast, and who, with several of his colleagues, was condemned to death for neglecting to bury the bodies of their countrymen who fell in battle.

33. Pericles himself, at last, was seized with the pestilence, though not in the severe and violent form in which it generally appeared. Still, by its slow consuming languor, it wasted his body and enfeebled his mind. Theophrastus relates, that Pericles showed to a friend who visited him, a kind of charm which some men had hung round his neck, proving how ill he must have been, to submit to such a childish superstition. When he was about to die, the leading citizens, and his friends, surrounded his couch, discoursing on his great exploits, and enumerating the trophies he had gained in war, believing that the dying statesman could not hear them. But not a word escaped him. Breaking his silence, he said to them, "I am surprised that you bear in mind the things in which Fortune bore so great a part, and which have so often happened to other generals; while you forget the greatest and most glorious of my actions, which is, that my undertakings have never clothed one of our citizens in mourning."

34. "What an admirable man!" exclaims Plutarch; "not only by his gentleness and humanity, which he invariably preserved in the pressure of public business, and in the midst of rivalry and opposition, but still more for the

noble and generous sentiment, that it was his greatest achievement not to have yielded to envy or anger, while in possession of the highest power,—never to have borne towards any man an implacable enmity." It seemed to Plutarch that, for this reason alone—the mildness of manners uniformly maintained, as he says, by Pericles—the title of Olympius was neither vain nor foolish, but one which he deserved to bear.

35. The events that followed the death of Pericles, made the Athenians feel the greatness of their loss. Even those who, while he lived, were most chagrined by the greatness of his power, as a light which cast them into the shade, had no sooner made a trial of other popular leaders, than they acknowledged publicly, that there had never been a man more moderate in his severity, nor more dignified in his mildness, than Pericles; and that the power to which they had given the odious name of tyranny, had been the secret defence and strongest rampart of their republic: so great were the corruptions and crimes which he had repressed, but which, after his removal, increased and rioted without restraint.

36. Few men in history are worthy to be compared with Pericles. He was truly a great man, endowed with large powers, which he devoted, through a long and distinguished career, to the benefit of his fellow-citizens. His private life is little known. It would appear to have been neither virtuous nor happy. Such, indeed, was the moral and religious condition of the society in which he lived, that there were no principles of sufficient purity and power to form such a character as that which we have been taught to regard as truly good, and worthy of either emulation or praise. But we should take a higher stand than Plutarch, and should not allow ourselves to be deceived by the ignorance of these ancient Greeks. While we admire the shining talents of Pericles,—his courage, his sagacity, his eloquence, his firmness, his gentleness of demeanour, his lofty patriotism, his public spirit,—we cannot forbear remarking the glaring defects in this most splendid example of heathen virtue. His private feelings and personal animosities appear to have been gratified under the pretence of public interests; and he encouraged in the Athenians that hatred of their fellow-men

—the Megaræans, for example—which was unjust in itself, and which involved his countrymen in the bloodiest war in which they were ever engaged. We have not copied Plutarch's account of his connection with Aspasia: it is a subject which a Christian is constrained to avoid. Nothing could more fully show the great benefit conferred on mankind by the doctrines and habits of the Christian religion, than the total contrast between heathenism in its brightest days, and Christianity in its most ordinary condition, in all that relates to the homes and families of men.

37. We look with mournful interest on *two* scenes, so touchingly painted by Plutarch, iu the life of Pericles. By the corpse of his son Paralus, this great man's mighty heart is broken: he is wounded in the tenderest point. How different are the feelings of Christians, who are often called to drink of the same cup of sorrow! We are taught the wisdom and goodness of God; we are favoured with brighter views of futurity; we are supported by Divine consolations. In our griefs, we have the sympathy of a tender Saviour; the consolations of the Spirit of grace. Then, on the bed of death—what a blank! Contrast this with the noble sentiments which have cheered the last moments of so many Christians,—"To me to die is gain: I rejoice in Christ Jesus: I have no confidence in the flesh: to depart and be with Christ, is far better."

LIFE OF NICIAS.

B. C. 411.

1. ARISTOTLE says, that there lived at the same time in Athens three most virtuous men, who always showed a truly paternal affection for the people,—Nicias, son of Niceratus, Thucydides, son of Milesias, and Theramenes, son of Agnon. Though Nicias was the youngest of these three, he was frequently associated with Pericles in the command of the army, and often appointed sole commander. After Pericles' death, he was soon advanced by the influence of the nobles to the first place in the government. He was

supported by them, as a check to the insolent ambition of Cleon. He, nevertheless, enjoyed the confidence of the people. Though Cleon had gained much power by flattery and bribery, yet his avarice and his rashness drove many to support Nicias, who pleased the citizens greatly by his gravity and caution. He was of a timid disposition. In war, his deficiencies were lost sight of in the successes with which Fortune, as he said, had favoured him; but, in the assemblies of the people, the timidity which shrank from public accusations, was gratifying to a people who fear those by whom they are despised, and who regard it as a great honour to be ruled by men who stand in dread of them.

2. Pericles, who governed Athens by his solid qualities and his powerful eloquence, had no need of any artifices for gaining the popular favour. But Nicias, who was inferior to him in these respects, though a man of greater wealth, used all his art to conciliate the multitude. On the other hand, as he could not emulate the buffooneries with which Cleon amused them, he surpassed all other men of former times, or of his own, in the pomp and elegance of the tragedies, and other public spectacles, which he provided at his private expense. It is reported that one of his slaves appearing in a tragic chorus, dressed as Bacchus, the Athenians were so delighted with his beautiful countenance and figure that they loudly applauded him. On which occasion, Nicias rose and said,—"I should think myself guilty of impiety if I kept in slavery a youth who has been consecrated by your public acclamations." Immediately the young man was made free. The presents Nicias offered at Delos were long after spoken of as wonderful proofs of his magnificence and of his devotion to the gods. Before his time, the choirs sent from the different cities of Greece to sing the hymns to Apollo had approached the temple in great disorder, because the islanders in their impatience pressed them to sing before they landed, amid the confusion of putting on their crowns of flowers, and their sacred robes. But when Nicias became the leader of the ceremony, instead of landing at Delos, he conducted the musicians, the victims, and all the other preparations for the festival, to the small island of Rhene, separated by a narrow channel from Delos; and he brought with him a bridge from Athens to throw across this

channel. The bridge was exceedingly beautiful, and adorned with gilding, with choice pictures, garlands, and rich tapestries. It was set up during the night; and in the light of the rising sun the procession passed over to the temple of Apollo in perfect order, filling the air with music. The sacrifice, games, and the banquet being completed, he planted in front of the temple a palm-tree of bronze, consecrated to Apollo. He also paid ten thousand drachmas for some land, that the Delians might lay out the revenue on an annual solemnity in which they offered sacrifices for the health and prosperity of Nicias. This condition was engraved on a column which he raised in Delos, for a lasting witness of the agreement. The bronze palm-tree was afterwards torn up by a storm and demolished; on its fall, a large statue was dedicated to Apollo by the Naxians.

3. Most of these things were done by Nicias from vain ostentation, and to be admired by the people; yet the disposition of the man, and the rest of his conduct, give reason for believing that his principal motive was derived from this religion. He was one of those who feared the gods extremely; and his piety, as Thucydides says, degenerated into superstition. We find in the "Dialogues of Pasiphon," that Nicias sacrificed every day; and that he kept a diviner in his house, under the pretence of consulting him on public affairs; but that he consulted him oftener on his own private business, especially his silver mines at Laurium. From these mines, which were not worked without danger to the slaves employed in them, he drew immense riches. His command of ready money attracted towards him crowds of needy applicants; and while his timidity induced him to relieve the worst of them, lest they should injure him, his humanity prompted him to be generous to those who were worthy.

4. Nicias was kept, by his dread of informers, from those meetings and visits in which men usually find amusement. When he was archon, he was the first to appear at the council and the last to depart. When not engaged in any public business which obliged him to go abroad he shut himself up in his house. His private friends frequently begged such as came to his gate to excuse him, as he was too much occupied in affairs of the state to speak to them.

5. The man who gave Nicias the greatest help in carrying on his plan, and securing for him the reputation of close attention to public business, was Hieron, whom he had brought up in his house, and to whom he had furnished the means of a refined education. He consulted the diviners for him in his most secret matters. Among the people it was his habit to say—"Nicias leads a laborious and miserable life for the service of his country: he has not a moment's rest: even in the night, and at table he is always loaded with business; he is forced to neglect his own affairs for those of the public; he is so occupied that he never lies down till other citizens have enjoyed their first sleep. His health is daily sinking. His temper becomes so fickle that he loses his friends, after sacrificing his property to the public good; while others keep their old friends and gain new ones, at whose expense they enjoy themselves in the possession of the powers of government." In fact, Nicias did spend his life as Hieron represented it; so that he might justly apply to himself the words of Agamemnon, in the tragedy,—"My life is surrounded with all the trappings of greatness; but I am in reality the slave of the people."

6. Nicias saw that the Athenians gladly used the talents or wisdom of the most eloquent of their citizens; but he also saw that the same Athenians were jealous of men of superior abilities, and were always labouring to mortify their pride by lessening their glory. This appeared but too plainly in their condemnation of Pericles, in their banishment of Damon, and in their distrust of Antiphon; but most of all, in the despair to which they drove Paches, who, when summoned to render an account of his charge, after the taking of Lesbos, drew his sword, in the presence of the court, and killed himself. Alarmed by such instances, Nicias sought to evade public appointments which were either too arduous or too trifling; and in all his undertakings he ventured nothing, but consulted his own safety. By thus acting, he was generally successful. He did not ascribe his success either to his wisdom or his courage, but sacrificing part of his glory to the envy of men, he placed himself under the protection of Fortune, by rendering the honour to her alone. He was not involved in any of the calamities by which Athens was eventually ruined. Callias and Xenophon were the commanders who were defeated by the Chalcidians

in Thrace; Demosthenes failed in Ætolia. Hippocrates lost a thousand of their best soldiers at Delium in Bœotia. And when the plague appeared in Athens the blame of it fell on Pericles, who inclosed the people from the country within the walls of the city. None of these calamities were imputed to Nicias. On the contrary, it was he who took from the Spartans Cythera, an island favourably situated for attacking Laconia. He restored to the Athenians many of the places which had revolted in Thrace. He shut up the Megaræans in their city, and gained the neighbouring island of Minoa. From that island he soon afterwards obtained possession of Nisæa, a harbour of Megara. He defeated the Corinthians in a great battle on their own territories, in which their general and a large portion of their army were cut to pieces. In that battle, he had the misfortune to miss the bodies of two of his own people, when they were carrying away the dead for burial. As soon as this fact came to his knowledge, he stopped his fleet, and sent a herald to the enemy, asking permission to bury these two corpses. Now it is an ancient and universal law among the Greeks—that those who beg a truce for carrying away their dead, appear to yield the honours of the victory, and cannot raise a trophy: those who have their dead in their power are regarded as the conquerors; those who beg the bodies of their dead, acknowledge themselves to be vanquished, since they have it not in their power to remove them. Notwithstanding this, Nicias chose to give up the glory of a victory, rather than leave two of his fellow-citizens without the honours of interment.

7. Nicias laid waste the entire coast of Laconia, putting to flight the Spartans who opposed him. He then took the fortress of Thyræa, which the Spartans had given to the Æginetans, and he carried the prisoners to Athens. The Athenian general, Demosthenes, had fortified Pylos. The Peloponnesians left Athens to besiege Pylos with a numerous army and a powerful fleet. They were repulsed by Demosthenes; and they threw about four hundred men into the island of Sphacteria, which commanded the entrance to Pylos. The Athenians saw that it was very important for them to take these four hundred prisoners. But the siege of Pylos was attended with extraordinary difficulties. There was a scarcity of water. Provisions could not be conveyed

to the place without a troublesome and expensive circuit, which, in winter, was impracticable. These difficulties made the Athenians repent that they had refused a treaty of peace when it was proposed to them by the Spartans. Nicias had been favourable to the peace; but for that reason it was opposed by Cleon. When, however, the siege was prolonged, and the Athenian forces were reduced to great extremities, the people began to express their anger against Cleon. Cleon threw all the blame on the timidity and slowness of Nicias and said, that if *he* were at the head of the army, the Spartans could not stand long against him. "Then," said the Athenians with one voice, "why do you not go at once against the Spartans?" Nicias himself said that he would cheerfully surrender to Cleon the honour of the expedition against Pylos: and, at the same time, he ordered him to raise as many troops as he thought necessary, and without delay to set off. "Do not amuse yourself here," he added, "by these boasts which the idlest can make, because they can be made without danger; but go and render some valuable service to your country."

8. Cleon was astonished to find that he was taken at his word. He began to excuse himself: but the Athenians ordered him to go; and Nicias publicly proclaimed the appointment. Cleon's courage was then excited by pride and anger; and he declared that in twenty days he would put the enemy to the sword, or bring them prisoners to Athens. The Athenians were more disposed to laugh at him than to believe him; for they were accustomed to divert themselves with Cleon's follies. But, contrary to their expectations, Cleon performed his promise. Within the time that he had fixed, he brought to Athens all the Spartans that were not killed in battle. This reflected deep disgrace on Nicias: for, according to the notions of Greeks, if it is shameful to throw away one's shield in battle, how much more dishonourable for him timidly to abandon the command of an army, and to give his enemy the opportunity of acquiring glory by an exploit which ought to have been his own. Nor was this the greatest evil: he inflicted a heavy blow on Athens, by allowing Cleon to reach a degree of power which filled him with insupportable audacity. This brought on Athens

many calamities in which Nicias himself had no small share. Cleon banished all decency and dignity from the Athenian assemblies: he introduced those passionate gesticulations and licenses of speech, which soon threw everything into confusion.

9. Cleon was succeeded in public favour by Alcibiades; by the violence of whose ambition Nicias was forced, against his will, into the stormy element of war. The most strenuous opponents of the peace of the nation had been Cleon and Brasidas: the former, because war concealed his vices; the latter, because it gave new lustre to his fame. To the one it furnished occasion for perpetuating gross injustice; to the other of increasing his renown. But when they were both killed in the battle which was fought near Amphipolis, Nicias, seeing the Spartans desirous of peace, and the Athenians in despair of reaping any further advantage from the war, used his best efforts to unite them in the bonds of friendship—that they might deliver the rest of the Greeks from the evils under which they groaned; to give them the enjoyment of repose, and by such means to re-establish among them all a long continuance of prosperity. The rich, the aged, and the agricultural labourers, were at once disposed to agree with his proposals; and, by speaking privately to others, he succeeded in abating their eagerness for war. Having brought matters to this state at Athens, he revived the hopes of the Spartans by assuring them that all things were in a fair train for peace, and urging them to concur. The Spartans trusted in Nicias: they knew by experience that he was an honourable man; and he had, of late, afforded fresh proofs of good will by his hospitable treatment of the Spartan prisoners who had been taken at Pylos.

10. They began by suspending arms for one year. During this time, the Athenians and Spartans had frequent intercourse; and the pleasure of meeting with friends and strangers awakened on both sides a lively passion for spending their lives without war and bloodshed. They listened with delight to the chorus, as it sang, "Let the spider weave her web for ever on our spears and shields." They remembered with pleasure the saying, "that they who sleep in the bosom of peace are not awakened in surprise by the sound of the trumpet; but their dream is sweetly

broken by the peaceful crowing of the cock!" Denouncing and cursing those who said that the Fates had destined the war to continue for thrice nine years, they discussed, in a friendly spirit the points disputed between them; and at last, they signed a treaty of peace.

11. Most men believed that their miseries were now at an end. The name of Nicias was in every mouth. They spoke of him as a man beloved of the gods, who rewarded his piety by giving him a name derived from the highest honour that could be enjoyed by man. They believed that the peace was the work of Nicias, as the war had been the work of Pericles. On very slender grounds, Pericles had involved them in numberless troubles; but Nicias had taught them to forget their wrongs, and to become mutual friends. For this reason, the treaty was called the Nicean Peace.

12. In the articles of this treaty, it was agreed that the places taken in war should be evacuated, and the prisoners restored on both sides; and that it should be determined by lot which party should begin the work of restitution. Theophrastus says, that, by means of money, Nicias made the lot to fall on the Spartans. The Corinthians and the Bœotians were dissatisfied with the treaty, and by their complaints the war seemed likely to be renewed. But Nicias prevailed on the Athenians and the Spartans to seal the treaty by an offensive and defensive league, which rendered them more sure of each other, and made them formidable to all who wished to stand aloof from them.

13. While these proceedings went on, Alcibiades, who was not born for peace, and who had a grudge against the Spartans for neglecting him, and relying so much on Nicias, had used all his power in private to thwart the projected treaty: but all his attempts were unsuccessful. He now resolved on measures of a different kind. He perceived, that in the course of a short time, the Athenians were becoming discontented with the conduct of the Spartans. They were jealous of the alliance which the Spartans had formed with the Bœotians: they were indignant that the Spartans had not restored the cities of Panactus and Amphipolis to the condition in which they had found them. Alcibiades laid hold of these grievances. He

aggravated them, and dwelt upon them, so as to stir up the bitter enmity of the people. He had also persuaded the Argives to send an embassy to Athens, to conclude a league between the two states. To prevent such a league, and to appease the anger of the Athenians, the Spartans sent ambassadors to Athens. After the return of the discomfited Spartan ambassadors, the Athenians sent for those from Argos, that they might immediately conclude the proposed league with them; but, at that moment, there was a slight earthquake, which obliged the assembly to disperse. On the morrow they met again. Nicias, with great difficulty, persuaded them to suspend the league with Argos for a short time, and to send him as their ambassador to Sparta, where, he assured them, all things would be arranged to their satisfaction. On his arrival at Sparta, he received every mark of respect from the citizens; but the object of his visit was successfully opposed by the party that favoured the Bœotian alliance. He returned as he went: he saw himself not only baffled and despised, but in danger of being insulted on his return; for the Athenians were provoked that, yielding to his persuasions, they had given up so many prisoners, especially those from Pylos, for they belonged to the first families in Sparta, and were connected with the leading men in the state. Great as their anger was, however, they carried it no further than to elect Alcibiades to the supreme command. They then formed a league with the Mantineans and Eleans, who had separated from the Spartans: to these they joined the Argives. They likewise sent troops to Pylos, to make inroads on Laconia. Thus were the Athenians plunged back into the war, which they had lately so much laboured to bring to an end.

14. When the difference between Nicias and Alcibiades was at its height, the time came when it was usual for the Athenians to exercise the right of ostracism. Both Nicias and Alcibiades were in danger; but it fell on their common enemy, Hyperbolus.

15. In those times, ambassadors came to Athens from the Ægestæans and the Leontines, pressing the Athenians to go to war with the rulers of Sicily. Nicias opposed it with all his might; but he was overruled by the address and the ambition of Alcibiades, who, before the day of

assembly, had corrupted the citizens, by the vain hopes which his private discourses excited among them. Nicias had but few supporters. The rich acted against their own judgment by remaining silent, for they were afraid they might be suspected of being influenced by unwillingness to serve in person, or to contribute to the expenses of such an expedition. Still Nicias persevered in his opposition to the last. In the first assembly after the war was decreed and he was associated in the command with Alcibiades and Lamachus, he protested strongly against the decree, and attacked Alcibiades for engaging his country in a dangerous war to gratify his private ambition. In spite of this opposition, the election was confirmed. Nothing seemed wanting to insure success, but to unite his cautious foresight with the boldness of Alcibiades, and the gentleness of Lamachus. An orator, named Demostratus, one of the most violent promoters of the war, rose in the assembly, saying, that he would put an end to the vain excuses of Nicias; he then carried a proposal that the generals should have full power to act according to their judgment, both in Athens and in Sicily.

16. When Lamachus proposed to land at Syracuse, and fight before the walls, and Alcibiades advised that they should first stir the cities to revolt from the Syracusans, before they marched against them, Nicias differed from them both. He said that they ought to proceed slowly along the coast of Sicily, making a display of their ships and their arms, and leaving a few troops with the Ægestæans, to help them to defend themselves, then to return to Athens. While his colleagues saw their plans deranged by this proposal, Alcibiades was recalled to take his trial; and Nicias was left to follow his own counsels, being, in fact, the first in command.

17. His delays were continual. Sometimes, he remained inactive. At other times, he sailed backward and forward along the coasts. Again he wasted time in consulting and deliberating. The hopes of the army died away. The terror with which the first sight of so formidable an armament had filled the enemy, vanished.

18. Before the departure of Alcibiades, they had advanced towards Syracuse with sixty vessels, drawing up fifty in order of battle at the entrance of the harbour, and sending

the remaining ten into the harbour to reconnoitre. Some of their number approaching the walls, proclaimed by a herald, that—"The Leontines have nothing to do but to return to their city and their lands." At the same time, they took a ship which had on board the tablets containing the register of all the Syracusans according to their tribes, which had always been preserved at a distance from the city in the temple of Jupiter Olympius; but which were sent for at that time for the purpose of making a list of the number who were of age to carry arms. But when Alcibiades was gone, all the authority devolved on Nicias. Lamachus was a worthy man, courageous, just, careless of his own safety in the hour of battle; but he was so poor and so simple, that whenever he commanded the army, he always included in the accounts which he rendered, "so much for his dress,—so much for his sandals." Nicias, on the contrary, prided himself on his great qualities; above all, on his reputation and his wealth. It is said that on another occasion, the Athenian generals were deliberating on some important matter in council, when Nicias directed the poet Sophocles, who was one of the generals, to give his opinion first, as he was the older: "I am indeed older," replied Sophocles, "if you count by years; but you are my elder, if we count by services." Thus Nicias kept Lamachus under his own orders, though he was a better officer than himself. His proceedings, as we have described them, were timid and slow. He crept round the island at such a distance from the enemy as to inspire them with confidence. He fell into great contempt by a feeble and ineffectual siege of the small city of Hybla. He then retired to Catana, where he did nothing but destroy Hyccara, a petty village belonging to the enemy.

19. As the summer was passing away, Nicias was told that the Syracusans had taken heart, and were disposed to attack him. Some of their cavalry had already advanced to his camp, and asked, in derision, "Whether he had not come to establish himself at Catana, rather than to restore the Leontines to their possessions?" It was with the greatest difficulty that Nicias at length resolved to sail to Syracuse. But as he wished for time to secure his camp before the city, he secretly sent a Syracusan from Catana, under the pretence of being a fugitive, to advise the Syracusans, if they

wished to surprise the Athenians, they must come on a day which he appointed, when, as he represented, the Athenians would be passing the greater part of their time in the town of Catana, while the inhabitants, who were friendly to the Syracusans, had resolved as soon as they arrived to seize the gates, and to set fire to the Athenian fleet; that the number of those who had entered into the plot was already great, and that they were only awaiting their approach. By this stratagem, he induced the enemy to quit Syracuse with all their forces, leaving the city without any defence; while he came from Catana with his whole fleet, gained possession at once of all the gates, and chose at his leisure a commodious place for his camp, where the enemy could least successfully employ their advantages against him, and where he could make the best use of the kind of force in which he was their superior.

20. The Syracusans, finding on their arrival at Catana how they had been deceived, returned with all speed to Syracuse, maddened at being obliged to fight before their own walls. Nicias sallied forth from his entrenchments, and put them to flight. He could not kill many of them, because their cavalry checked the Athenians in pursuing them. As Nicias had broken down all the bridges across the river, he gave occasion to Hermocrates to say, for the encouragement of the Syracusans—"Nicias is a most agreeable person; he is at the head of an army to keep it from fighting; as if they had come for any other purpose than that of fighting." Notwithstanding this witty observation, Nicias did fight; and the Syracusans were beaten. So great was their terror, that instead of fifteen generals, which till then they had employed, they gave the command to three, to whom the people swore absolute obedience, leaving them to resolve and execute whatever they thought right without waiting for fresh orders.

21. The temple of Jupiter Olympius was not so far from the Athenian camp as to prevent their wishing to gain possession of it, since it was full of offerings of gold and silver consecrated by the superstition of kings and people. Nicias lost the opportunity of seizing it, putting it off from day to day, and afforded time to the Syracusans to send a detachment for its defence. It was not without design that Nicias acted as he did. He believed that the public would derive no

advantage from the pillage of the temple by his soldiers, while he feared that the guilt of the sacrilege would fall upon himself.

22. The tidings of the victory at Syracuse were soon spread over Sicily. But Nicias did not turn it to any good account. A few days after, he led his troops to Naxos, between Syracuse and Catana, where he wintered, consuming the great quantity of provisions required for so numerous an army, and bringing over to his standard only a very few of the Sicilians. The Syracusans, on the other hand, recovering from their fright, laid the whole country waste around Catana, and burned the Athenian camp. The blame of all this is ascribed to the delay and excessive caution of Nicias: for when he did act, no fault could be found with him; he was as prompt and ardent in execution as he was timid and slow in deliberation. Having once resolved to bring his army before Syracuse a second time, he led it with so much prudence and diligence that he had reached the peninsula of Thapsos, landed his troops, and made himself master of the fortress of Epipolæ, before the Syracusans had any knowledge of his coming. He defeated on that occasion some troops of infantry which they had sent to relieve the fortress, took three hundred prisoners, and put to flight their cavalry which was believed to be invincible. But that which most astonished the Sicilians, and which appeared to the Greeks incredible, was that in a short time he built a good wall round Syracuse,—a city not smaller than Athens, and, from the unevenness of the ground, the nearness of the sea, and the marshes which surrounded it, much more difficult to inclose within a wall.

23. Nicias was suffering all the time from a distressing disease, which probably was the reason why this great work was not perfectly finished. Plutarch says, he cannot but admire the indefatigable attention of the general, and the invincible courage of his soldiers in their various undertakings. The poet Euripides, even after their defeat and death, made for them this generous epitaph: "This brave soldier routed the Syracusans in eight battles, so long as an impartial deity beheld them both." On which Plutarch remarks, that not eight victories only, but many more were won by them, until Fortune turned against them as soon as they reached their highest degree of power.

Nicias forced his suffering body, and took part in most of their actions: but when his malady was at its worst, he was obliged to rest in his tent, attended by a few servants.

24. Lamachus, now sole commander, took the opportunity to attack the Syracusans, who were building a wall from the town to prevent the completion of that of the Athenians. In these engagements the Athenians ordinarily had the advantage. One day they were carried away by the joy of victory to pursue the Syracusans too far, and with no little disorder among themselves, leaving Lamachus alone, exposed to the whole force of the enemy's cavalry. The cavalry were commanded by Callicrates, an officer of great strength and bravery, who came forward by himself and challenged Lamachus to single combat. Lamachus received the first wound; but he wounded Callicrates, and they both fell and expired together. The Syracusans being masters of the body and arms of Lamachus, took them away, and went straight to the Athenian entrenchments where Nicias lay without guard. Roused by their approach, and seeing the great danger which threatened him, he ordered his attendants to set fire to the engines and all the materials lying about them. Thus he stopped the progress of the Syracusans, saved Nicias, and preserved the treasure of the Athenians; for the enemy, seeing the flames, went back to Syracuse.

25. The death of Lamachus left Nicias in the sole command of the army. He had great hopes; many Sicilian towns submitted to him; vessels laden with provisions for his troops came to him from all quarters; there was a general feeling in his favour throughout the island, as a man sure to prosper. The Syracusans no longer hoping to be able to defend their city, made proposals for an accommodation. Gylippus, sent from Sparta to succour the Syracusans, learned on the way that they were reduced to the greatest extremities, and, surrounded by the wall built by the Athenians, he believed that they were already in the hands of their conquerors, and he passed on to preserve, if possible, the cities in Sicily belonging to the people of Italy: for there was a prevalent report that the Athenians were already master of the entire country, with a general at their head whose prudence and fortune were invincible. Nicias

himself, contrary to his natural disposition, was elevated beyond measure by his strong position and his great victories, and above all by the information he daily received from Syracuse secretly, as well as from messages publicly conveyed to him, that the city was preparing to surrender. In this state of confident security, Nicias never thought of using any means to prevent the landing of Gylippus. Gylippus, however, took advantage of this negligence and landed in Sicily, at as great a distance as possible from Syracuse, and soon gathered round him a large army. So little were the Syracusans aware of his presence in the island, that they had assembled to deliberate on proposals of surrender to Nicias; many of those engaged in the deliberation were for adopting the proposals before their city was completely inclosed, for there was but a very small part of the wall unfinished, and the materials were on the spot.

26. At this critical moment, an officer named Gongylus arrived from Corinth with a trireme. The whole population crowded round him. He told them that Gylippus would presently join him, and that he was followed by many other ships coming to their rescue. The Syracusans scarcely dared to believe this good news. While they hesitated, a courier came from Gylippus, ordering them to arm themselves and come out to meet him. They took courage and obeyed the summons. When Gylippus reached the place he drew up his army. Nicias did the same. As the two armies stood front to front, Gylippus laid aside his weapons, and sent a herald to the Athenians, offering to give them protection if they were willing to abandon Sicily. Nicias scorned to give any answer; but some of his soldiers laughed at the herald, and asked him—"If the arrival of one Spartan cloak and staff so much improved the condition of the Syracusans that they could despise the Athenians who were so much stronger than Gylippus, and who had lately restored to Sparta three hundred of their prisoners, all better and longer-haired men than Gylippus? Timæus affirms that the Sicilians did not think much of Gylippus, neither at first nor afterwards; for as soon as they were aware of his avarice they ridiculed his cloak and his long hair. Yet the same historian adds that when Gylippus appeared among the Syracusans, they ran to his standard, as the birds flock after the owl as soon as they see him; which is more pro-

bable than what he had said before: for the Syracusans, viewing that cloak and staff as the emblems of Spartan dignity, gathered round Gylippus with respect and obedience. Besides, Thucydides says that the deliverance of Sicily was the work of Gylippus alone; and Philistus, a Syracusan, and a witness of these events, testifies the same thing.

27. In the first battle the advantage was on the side of the Athenians, who killed some of the Syracusans. Gongylus, the Corinthian, was among the slain. The next day Gylippus gave a striking proof of the skill of an experienced officer, for with the same men, the same weapons, the same horses, and in the same places, by merely changing the order of battle, he drove the Athenians to their entrenchments. He then made use of the stones and other materials which they had brought for the completion of their wall, to continue that which the Syracusans had begun, thus preventing the work of the Athenians from being finished, so that, though the latter had gained a victory the first day, it proved to be of no advantage to them.

28. After this success, the Syracusans revived in their courage, armed a great number of ships, and with their cavalry, and the soldiers of their allies, took many prisoners. Gylippus went through all the cities urging them to join him. The greater part complied, and rendered him great service. In consequence of this sudden change Nicias relapsed into his former inactivity. He lost heart. He sent to the Athenians an account of the state of his affairs, and pressed them either to send another army, or to recall the present one from Sicily. At the same time, he begged permission to retire from the command on account of his malady. Before the Athenians received the letters of Nicias, they had been on the point of sending them a new army; but the envy which had been excited by his first successes, so advantageous for his country, and so honourable to himself, had suggested divers pretexts for delay. His reverses had a contrary effect. The Athenians hastened the necessary succours. They promptly resolved on naming two generals, Demosthenes and Eurymedon, as the colleagues of Nicias. Demosthenes was to repair to Sicily with the fleet which they were preparing, in the spring: and Eurymedon was to proceed before the end

of the winter with ten ships. Eurymedon carried money to pay the troops, and told Nicias that two meritorious officers, Menander and Euthydemus, now with him, were appointed to assist him in the command, until the arrival of Demosthenes.

29. While Demosthenes was making preparations for sailing to Sicily, Nicias was attacked at once by sea and by land: but with very different success. At first, part of his fleet was vanquished by that of the Syracusans; but afterwards he beat the victors, and sank many of their ships. On the land he was not so successful: not being able to succour his troops in time, Gylippus took by assault the fortress of Plemmyrium, at the entrance of the great harbour, and thus gained possession of all the money, provisions, and equipments of six ships which had been laid up there, and put to the sword, or took prisoners, the greater part of the garrison. The heaviest blow to Nicias was the loss of his convoys: for while he held Plemmyrium, the transport of provisions had been safe and quick; but now that the enemy was at anchor before that fortress, his supplies could not be brought in without fighting. Moreover, the Syracusans ascribed their late defeat at sea, not to the superiority of the Athenians, but to their own disorderly manner of pursuing them. They therefore prepared for a second naval battle with greater force and magnificence. Nicias, however, would not hazard another battle. He said it would be absurd to venture upon it with inferior troops already worn out and ill-provided, while he was hourly expecting the arrival of Demosthenes with a new fleet. But Menander and Euthydemus, the temporary colleagues of Nicias, were moved by their ambitious jealousy of Nicias and Demosthenes, to surpass the glory of the one before the arrival of the other. Their pretence was—the honour of Athens. They maintained with great ardour that Athens would be entirely ruined if they avoided the engagement to which the Syracusans were now challenging them. Nicias was forced to yield; and they hurried to the battle. By the stratagem of Ariston, the Corinthian, a pilot, the left wing of the Athenian fleet was dispersed, and many of their people perished. Nicias was thrown into the utmost consternation. All the calamities that had happened while he was sole commander passed in review before his mind;

and now, one greater than them all was brought upon him by the folly of his colleagues. Then Demosthenes arrived with a formidable fleet. He had seventy-three ships, manned by five thousand heavy-armed warriors, besides three thousand archers, spearmen, and slingers. His magnificent array of glittering armour, in ships adorned with brilliant streamers, furnished with strong rowers, and commanded by able officers, came up with the sound of trumpets, as in triumphal pomp, to strike their enemies with dismay.

30. The Syracusans were now thrown back into their former state of alarm. They saw no end to their troubles: all their sufferings and labours had been thrown away. Nicias had but a brief joy in the arrival of this powerful armament. Demosthenes was for attacking the Syracusans at once, and then returning to Athens. Nicias, astonished at his rashness, remonstrated with him on the folly of his proposal. He argued that delay would be the most effective plan for ruining their enemies, for they were already without money or provisions; that their allies were ready to forsake them; and they would be forced by want to surrender, as they had wished to do before. He knew, from certain information, that the Syracusans were tired of the war, and disgusted with Gylippus, and that they would soon be compelled by their increasing misery to surrender at discretion. These things were said by Nicias in a manner somewhat obscure, so that Demosthenes and the other generals accused him of timidity. "These," they said, "are his old precautions by which he has extinguished all the ardour of his troops, always delaying to fight until his forces were enfeebled and despised." The other generals and all the officers followed the opinion of Demosthenes, and Nicias was obliged to give way.

31. On the following night, Demosthenes, with the land forces, attacked the Epipolæ. Before the sentinels were aware, he killed part of the enemy by surprise, and overcame all who tried to defend themselves. Not content with this advantage, he fell upon the Bœotians. The Bœotians, formed in close order, levelled their spears, and pressing hard on the Athenians, repulsed them with loud cries and dreadful slaughter. The alarm spread through the rest of the army: the men who came down from

the Epipolæ to sustain their countrymen, were attacked and wounded by the fugitives; and friends were mistaken for enemies. The universal fright was heightened by the deceitful light of the moon, which, dimly shining on their backs, cast their shadows before them, so as to conceal their number and their arms, while the shields and helmets of the enemy, glittering in the moonlight, made them appear more numerous and more formidable than they were. At last they turned round, completely routed, and fell, either by the arms of the enemy, or by their own. Many of them threw themselves down from the tops of the rocks. Those who escaped wandered about in the fields, where they were caught next morning, and put to the sword by the enemy's cavalry. Two thousand of the Athenians perished; and very few of them saved their arms with their lives.

32. Though the issue was such as Nicias had apprehended, he was thrown into despair, and vehemently accused the precipitancy of Demosthenes. Demosthenes vindicated himself as well as he could; but he now gave it as his opinion that they should return forthwith to Athens. He said that it was in vain to expect a new army; that with the force which then remained they could not hope to make head against the enemy; and that even if they were assured of victory, they would be obliged to abandon a position which was at all times unhealthy, and which they then found to be specially fatal at that season, for it was the beginning of autumn; the greater part of their soldiers were already laid up by sickness, and all the others were dispirited. Yet Nicias would not hear of a retreat: not that he feared the Syracusans, but rather, the tribunals and calumnies of the Athenians at home. He declared that there was no peculiar danger from remaining in their camp; and that he would rather die by the hands of his enemies than by those of his fellow-citizens; and that, if it should be necessary to remove their camp, they could deliberate on that at their leisure. When he had thus spoken, Demosthenes, remembering the failure of his own recent project, offered no opposition, especially as he saw others persuaded that Nicias had some secret intelligence, and was waiting for something of which they had no knowledge. But very soon a new army arrived to help the

Syracusans; the sickness in the Athenian camp increased; Nicias changed his opinion, and gave a general order for embarkation.

33. On the night on which the Athenians were ready to embark, without exciting any attention on the part of the enemy, the moon was eclipsed. Through either ignorance or superstition, Nicias and all his people were struck with a panic. Nicias wished to remain for another month. Abandoning all other thoughts, he occupied his leisure with sacrifices; until the enemy, profiting by his inaction, attacked his encampment, and surrounded the entrance to the harbour with their ships. Even the children joined the party. Many of them threw themselves into fishing-boats and other light craft, approached the Athenian ships, challenged them to fight, and insulted them with the most contemptuous reproaches. A Syracusan boy, named Heracleides, belonging to one of the noblest families in the city, coming too near, was on the point of being taken by one of the Athenian ships, which was sent in pursuit of him; Pollychus, his uncle, hastened to his rescue, with ten ships under his command; and the officers of the other ships, in apprehension for Pollychus's own safety, followed. This brought on a severe conflict. At length the Syracusans carried the day, after having killed Eurymedon, the Athenian general, and many other distinguished officers. The Athenians, seeing that they could not hold out much longer, raised a loud outcry against their generals, and called on them to lead them away by land; for the Syracusans had followed up their victory by blocking up the entrance of the harbour. Nicias refused to listen to them, thinking that nothing could be more dishonourable than to leave in the enemy's hands so many vessels of burden, and nearly two hundred ships of war. He, therefore, promptly filled a hundred and twenty ships with the flower of his infantry and his archers, not having rowers for the other ships. The remainder of his troops he drew up on the shore, leaving his camp and his walls, which reached as far as the temple of Hercules.

34. The Syracusans had been prevented from offering their ordinary sacrifices to Hercules by the presence of the Athenians. Now they sent their priests and their generals to discharge their obligations by renewing the solemnities.

As soon as their ships were prepared, the soothsayers announced to the Syracusans that the entrails of the victims promised them a glorious victory, if, instead of beginning the attack, they only repelled the force of their adversaries; for Hercules himself, they said, performed his great labours only in defending himself from the injuries that assailed him. Full of confidence, the Syracusans put to sea. The battle was fierce and bloody. It was remarkable for not causing less excitement in the two armies who watched it from the shore, than among those who fought in the ships; for they could clearly see the battle and feel the effects of every sudden change, within so small a space. The Athenians did themselves as much damage by their own arrangements, and by the nature of their armament, as they received from their enemies; for they fought with large, unwieldy vessels, crowded close together, against lighter vessels, which had space to act freely, and to attack them on all sides. Moreover, the Syracusans were provided with a large quantity of stones, which never failed to do execution; while the Athenians could defend themselves only with arrows and javelins, of which the aim was rendered so unsteady by the motion of the ships that they were of little use. The Syracusans owed the advantage of this expedition to the suggestion of Ariston, the Corinthian, who lost his life in the moment of their victory.

35. The flight of the Athenians by sea being thus prevented by their defeat and their great losses, when they saw how difficult it would be to save themselves by land, they had not heart to meet their enemies as they approached to take their ships. They did not ask even leave to bury their dead. They regarded the lot of the sick and wounded, whom they were forced to abandon, as worse than that of the dead who were left unburied; and they looked on their own case as the worst of all, seeing no way of escape from the same miseries, after passing through more terrible sufferings. In the night, however, they began their retreat by land. Gylippus saw the Syracusans taken up with festive sacrifices in commemoration of their victory; and he knew that he could neither persuade nor force them to fall on the retreating Athenians. In this difficulty, Hermocrates contrived a stratagem. He sent to Nicias some of his most trusty friends, pretending that they

came from those persons who had maintained a secret correspondence with him during the war, to advise him not to depart that night, because the Syracusans had planted ambuscades on all the roads by which they could pass. Nicias believed the story, and remained as though he had been afraid of not falling in the snares of the enemy: for by the morning light, the Syracusans occupied all the passes and fords, broke down the bridges, and scattered their cavalry over all the plain; so that there was not a spot by which the Athenians could pass without fighting for it. They were, therefore, compelled to remain where they were during the whole of that day. On the following night they commenced their retreat with cries and groans, as if they had been leaving, not an enemy's country, but their own. Their state of miserable destitution was embittered by the thought of their sick and wounded friends who could not follow them; and their present sorrows seemed light in comparison of those with which they were threatened.

36. The most affecting spectacle in all this scene of misery was Nicias himself; worn out with disease, and wanting even the lowest comforts of life at a time when his age and sufferings made them indispensable. Still, weak as he was, he bore it all with an energy which the strongest scarcely displayed; and they all saw that he acted less from a love of life, than from a desire to sustain the hopes of his companions. When all the rest wept from fear and despair, his tears, when he could no longer restrain them, flowed from the contrast of their present disgrace with the glorious things they had hoped to achieve. When they beheld him thus, and the earnestness with which he had sought to deter the Athenian people from this fatal expedition, they looked on his sufferings as the more unmerited. They ceased to place any hope in the gods, when they saw one who had been so devoted to them faring no better than the basest persons in the army.

37. Amid all this distress, Nicias endeavoured by his tones, his looks, and his acts of kindness to all around him, to show that he could rise above it. He kept his division of the army unbroken in a march of eight days, during which he was continually wounded by darts, until Demosthenes and his division were surrounded and taken, after hard

fighting, at Polyzelus. Demosthenes stabbed himself with his own sword, but not mortally; and fell immediately into the hands of the enemy. As soon as some Syracusans announced this calamity to Nicias, he sent some of his cavalry to inquire into the matter, who brought back word that it was true. He then begged that Gylippus would send the Athenians safe home from Sicily, and offered hostages for the payment of the expenses of the Syracusans in the war. The Syracusans haughtily rejected his proposals, with savage threats, and discharged their darts against a man reduced to the last extremity of want. All that night Nicias stood his ground, and in the morning he marched, amidst showers of darts, to the river Asinarum. There the enemy drove some into the stream, and others rushed into it headlong to quench their thirst. The slaughter of the Athenians in the river was so murderous, that Nicias, kneeling at Gylippus's feet, said, "Gylippus, show some mercy—not to me, who have gathered fame from so many battles, but to the other Athenians. Remember the chances of war fall on both sides. Forget not with what moderation and clemency the Athenians have used their advantage over you." Gylippus was somewhat moved by the appearance and the speech of Nicias. He knew that Nicias had done good service to the Spartans in securing the late treaty. He thought how it would redound to his own glory to take the generals of the opposing army alive. He raised Nicias from the ground, and consoled him, and ordered the lives of the others to be spared. But so slowly did the order pass, that more than half of the whole number were slaughtered. When all the prisoners were brought together, the conquerors placed their arms as trophies on the tallest and most beautiful of the trees on the river's bank. Then they crowned themselves with chaplets, adorned their own horses, and cropped those of their captives; and returned to the city in triumph, having brought to an end the greatest contest that Greeks ever had with Greeks, and gained a solid victory by the most strenuous courage.

38. At a public meeting of the people and the allies of Syracuse, Eurycles, the orator, proposed that the day of Nicias's capture should be observed as a solemn festival, entirely spent in sacrificing to the gods, and that it should

be called *Asinaria*, after the river; that the slaves and allies of the Athenians should be sold; that the free Athenians and their abettors should be condemned to work in the quarries in chains; and that the generals should be put to death. The proposals being adopted by the assembly, Hermocrates produced a general movement by reminding them that "to use a victory well is better than to conquer." Gylippus wished to lead the Athenian generals to Sparta; but the Syracusans, giddy with success, weary of the severity of his discipline, and hating him for his avarice, answered him with insults. Timæus contradicts the statement of Philistus and Thucydides, that Nicias and Demosthenes were stoned to death by the Syracusans; and he says that during the holding of the assembly, Hermocrates sent some of his people to inform them of their sentence, and that they destroyed themselves. For a long time their bodies were publicly exposed outside the gate. Plutarch was informed, that even in his day a shield was shown in a temple at Syracuse, which they called the shield of Nicias, beautifully wrought in gold and purple.

39. Most of the other prisoners were carried away by disease and bad living in the quarries, where their daily allowance was a pint of barley, and half a pint of water. Many of those who had been concealed by the soldiers, or who had escaped by passing for servants, were sold into slavery with the mark of a horse branded on their brows; the greater number consisted of these last; but they so won upon the Syracusans by their modesty and delicate behaviour, that they were either soon set at liberty, or were treated by their masters with great honour. Some were preserved for the sake of Euripides: for the Sicilians were more passionately fond of his poetry than any other Greek's. When visitors to their island brought a few specimens, they eagerly committed them to memory, and communicated them to one another with enthusiastic delight. It is said that there were not a few of the prisoners, on this occasion, who returned to Athens, and who went to Euripides to thank him. Some of them told him that they had been set at liberty for teaching their masters such passages of his poetry as they could remember. Others said that by singing a few of his verses, they had procured support when wandering about after the battle. This is far from being incredible. A

vessel from Caunus, pursued by Corsairs, sought shelter in a Sicilian harbour. At first the Sicilians were for chasing her away; but after asking if any one on board knew any verses of Euripides, and finding that they knew many of them, they gave them leave to remain.

40. It is said that the Athenians were unwilling to believe the news of their defeat in Sicily, and that their incredulity was specially awakened by the character of the first bearer of the tidings. A foreigner landing at Piræus, sat in a barber's shop, and spoke of these events as if they were known to the Athenians. The barber ran off immediately to the city, and publicly related what he had heard, in the presence of the archon. In the fear and trepidation which naturally followed, the magistrates called an assembly of the citizens. The man was then asked from whom he had received his information; but as he could say nothing that was certain, he was condemned to the rack as a liar and a disturber of the state. The wretched man had been tortured for a long time, when the report was confirmed by those who narrated the whole matter. With such difficulty was Nicias believed, even when he had suffered the calamities he had foretold.

41. Nicias is a striking specimen of a numerous class of persons. Of a cautious and timid disposition, he was more distinguished for prudence than for enterprise. With a moderate share of energy, he was exceedingly rich; and he employed his wealth for the purpose of gaining that distinction which other Athenians won by their boldness and their abilities. Jealous for the influence of the high-born and the wealthy in opposition to that of the great bulk of the citizens, he was naturally averse to all popular undertakings. Through his whole life he appears to have maintained an unblemished character, especially for his religious devotion, according to the views of his age and country. His sufferings and his melancholy end cannot be contemplated without sorrow.

42. We are warranted by his history to suggest to young persons one practical caution. It is not well to engage in attempts for which we have not been fitted by Divine Providence. The greater part of persons in our days are called to fill situations so much unlike those in which Nicias was placed, that we are not likely to fall into the same kind of

error as that into which he would seem to have been led by his position in society. Happily, however, there is more scope among us than there was among the Athenians for the useful and happy employment of qualities somewhat similar to those of Nicias. There is more need of caution and circumspection than of boldness and daring. Our religion is an infinitely better guide in life than that of Greece; and it provides succour for the hour of sorrow, and consolations in death to which Nicias was a stranger. We are perpetually taught to make religion—intelligent, spiritual, and practical faith in the Saviour—the grand business of life; and they who go through the world under the direction and power of this religion, will adorn every station, and make the most conscientious use of every talent.—They will not regard success in worldly affairs as a proof of the Divine favour; but rather as a trial of their own faithfulness in making a right use of their prosperity; neither will they regard reverses and disappointments as proofs of the Divine displeasure, but as occasions for humility, and as motives to dependence, and prayer, and cheerful confidence in God. They will have too deep a sense of responsibility to God to throw away their lives because they are overwhelmed with calamity. Under the deepest distresses they will, in patience possess their souls, and wait on God to deliver them in his own way and at his own time. He has promised that he will deliver those who put their trust in him. Faith in this promise has made the timid bold; and it has filled the dying with hopes of everlasting life.

LIFE OF ALCIBIADES.

B. C. 402.

1. It is pretended that Alcibiades was descended, by his father Cleinias, from Eurysaces, son of Ajax, and through his mother Dinomache, daughter of Megacles, from Alcmæon. His father fought with much honour, in a vessel fitted out at his own charges, at Artemisium; and he was afterwards killed in the battle of Coronæ, where Tolmides was defeated by the Bœotians. Pericles and Ariphron, near relatives,

were the guardians of Alcibiades. The friendship of Socrates has contributed not a little to his celebrity; for while we know nothing of the mothers of his eminent contemporaries, of Nicias, Demosthenes, Lamachus, Formio, Thrasybulus, we learn from Antisthenes, that Alcibiades had a Spartan named Amyelas for his nurse, and Plato informs us that "Zopyrus was his teacher."

2. It is not necessary perhaps to say much of the personal beauty of Alcibiades. Plutarch observes, only, that it continued through life, rendering him very attractive, not only in childhood and youth, but even after he became a man. Such was the admirable symmetry of his body, and the charm which spread over his whole person, that he was one of the few to whom we may apply the words of Euripides, that, "the autumn of handsome men is beautiful." Even the lisp with which he spoke added persuasion and gracefulness to his address. His manners and inclinations varied much at different times, which is not surprising if we consider the great events that happened to him, and the remarkable changes through which he passed. His most striking passion was an inordinate ambition for distinction, which would not brook a superior or even an equal. When a boy, he was nearly thrown by one of his companions in wrestling; he furiously bit the hands of his antagonist to make him loosen his grasp: "Alcibiades," said the boy, "you bite like a woman." "Not so," Alcibiades replied; —"but like a lion." At another time, playing at dice in a narrow street, he was about to throw, when a wagon laden with wine approached. The stupid driver, unmindful of the cries of the boys calling on him to stop, was goading on his oxen, and the other boys made way for him; but Alcibiades threw himself across the road in front of the oxen's feet, and ordered the men to drive over him. The astonished rustic stopped; and the scattered playmates crowded round him in terror.

3. Though Alcibiades submitted to the lessons of other masters in the schools, he contemptuously refused to play the flute, looking on it as an instrument unworthy of a free man. "The lyre," he said, "does not spoil the features or the figure, which persons of honourable birth ought to preserve; but when a man puts a flute to his mouth his countenance is distorted, so that his friends cannot recognise

him. The lyre can be accompanied with the voice, which the flute prevents. Let us abandon the flute to the children of the Thebans, who do not know how to speak; but let us remember that we are Athenians; that we have for our patrons, Minerva, who threw away the flute, and Apollo, who flayed the man that used it." By this pleasantry, which had a serious meaning, Alcibiades delivered himself and all his companions from that exercise. From that time, the flute, which had been held in much esteem, was treated at Athens with contempt.

4. Antiphon, who wrote a book against Alcibiades, has said that while he was very young, he ran away from home to the house of Democrates, one of his friends, and that Ariphron, one of his guardians, wished to seek him by means of the public crier, but that Pericles, his other guardian, opposed this, saying—"If he be dead, the public crier will bring the news only one day sooner; but if he is living, it will only disgrace him through life." Antiphon upbraids Alcibiades for having murdered one of his slaves with a club, in the *palestræ* of Agyrtius. But perhaps we should not give credit to all these reports, which the author avows that he had published from hatred to him.

5. At an early age, Alcibiades was followed and courted by the first and noblest citizens, because of his surpassing beauty. But, at the same time, the love of Socrates is a sufficient proof of the boy's wisdom and ingenuousness. The philosopher, seeing his good inclinations, and fearing that he might be corrupted by the flatteries of both Athenians and foreigners that were attracted by his beauty, wealth, and rank, took the greatest possible pains to keep so fair a plant from perishing in its early flower. If ever there was a man defended by what are vulgarly called the good things of life from the piercing remonstrances of philosophy, it was Alcibiades, surrounded as he was, from the first, by luxuries and flatteries; yet, by his natural good sense, he attached himself to Socrates. He preferred his society to that of all other persons. He listened with pleasure to the conversations which were designed to check his faults, and to cure his foolish pride. He believed that Socrates was sent from heaven for the instruction and safety of the Athenian youth. Humbled

in his own eyes by his love and reverence for his teacher, he supped with him, wrestled with him, and shared his tent. In contrast with this regard for Socrates, was his rough treatment of the rest of his admirers. One day, Anytus gave an entertainment to some strangers, and invited Alcibiades. Alcibiades refused; but in the evening, after drinking wine with friends at home, he went, masked, to the house of Anytus, stopped at the door of the chamber, and, seeing the board and tables covered with gold and silver vessels, he ordered his slaves to carry one half of them away to his own house; then, without deigning to enter the apartment, he returned home. The guests of Anytus murmured at this insult; but Anytus himself said, "He has done me an honour and a favour; for while he might have taken the whole, he has left us one half."

6. The only person to whom, among his troops of admirers, he showed any kindness, was a stranger, who lived at Athens, and who having sold his small property, brought a hundred pieces of gold to Alcibiades as a present. Alcibiades, flattered by the man's admiration, entertained him at supper, returned his money, and desired him to appear next day among the persons who were to bid for farming the revenue, and to offer a higher price than all the rest. The poor man would have excused himself on the plea that he was too poor to pay the necessary rent; but Alcibiades threatened to scourge him if he refused; for, besides wishing to do the man a kindness, he had a private pique against the tax-farmers, which he wished to gratify. In the morning, as Alcibiades had directed, the man offered a talent beyond the other bidders. The rest leagued against him, and demanded the name of his security, feeling sure that he had none. The man, utterly confused, was about to return, when Alcibiades, from a distance, called to the magistrates, "Put down my name: he is one of my friends; I will be responsible for him." These words threw the tax-farmers into great perplexity; and they offered money to this stranger, to induce him to give up his bargain. Alcibiades would not let him accept less than a talent, which they paid him.

7. Though Socrates had many rivals among the admirers of Alcibiades, he retained his hold on his affection, by his beautiful discourses, which touched him to the quick, and

often drew forth tears. Sometimes, indeed, Alcibiades was seduced from his teacher by the flatterers who were always finding out new pleasures for him; and Socrates was at times obliged to make search for him, knowing that he had no real respect for any other person. Alcibiades was, indeed, greatly addicted to a life of pleasure; and what Thucydides says of his voluptuous and intemperate mode of living, has given but too much ground for such a charge. Still it was less the love of pleasure than the love of distinction to which the corrupters of his youth appealed. They filled his head with magnificent schemes, assuring him that as soon as he aspired to take a lead in public affairs, he would not only throw into the shade all former orators and warriors, but would even surpass Pericles in power and glory; yet no sooner did Alcibiades return to Socrates, than the lessons of the philosopher awakened nim to a sense of his faults: like iron softened in the fire, but recovering its hardness in the cold.

8. Alcibiades had scarcely passed the years of childhood, when he went to the school of a certain teacher, and asked for a volume of Homer. The grammarian told him that he had no book of that poet. Alcibiades struck him with his fist, and left him. Another teacher, having told him that he had a copy of Homer corrected with his own hand, Alcibiades said to him, "How! you are able to correct Homer, and yet you amuse yourself with teaching children: why do you not apply yourself to the instruction of young men?" One day, he went to see Pericles; at the gate he was told that Pericles was occupied in studying how to render his accounts to the Athenians. "It were better," said Alcibiades, "that he should study how to avoid giving any accounts at all."

9. Alcibiades was only a young man when he was present with the army at Potidæa. Socrates was also there, and was the companion of Alcibiades, by night and by day, lodging in his tent, and fighting by his side. On the day of the battle, they both fought with great courage: Alcibiades was wounded, and brought to the ground; Socrates placed himself before him, and defended him, and in sight of the whole army kept the enemy from taking him or depriving him of his arms. The prize of valour, therefore, was justly due to Socrates; but as the generals

were disposed to give it to Alcibiades, on account of his high rank, Socrates, who wished only to kindle in Alcibiades the love of true glory, was the first to give his vote, and contributed most largely to the crown and the complete suit of armour, which were the prize awarded to him. On another occasion, a long time after, when the Athenians were routed at the battle of Delium, Alcibiades, who was on horseback, found Socrates retreating with others on foot: he would not leave him, but defended him from the attacks of the pursuing enemy, by whom many of the other fugitives were slain.

10. There was at Athens a citizen named Hipponicus, father of Callias, a man of high standing for his wealth and birth, whom Alcibiades struck, not from anger, nor in a quarrel, but in consequence of a merry jest, which he had planned with some of his companions. The report of this action spread quickly through the city, and produced a universal murmur. Next morning, Alcibiades went to Hipponicus, and offered himself to be beaten, as Hipponicus should decide. Hipponicus suppressed his resentment, and forgave him. Some time after, he gave Alcibiades his daughter in marriage.

11. Hipparete, the daughter of Hipponicus, is described as an eminently virtuous lady, who passionately loved her husband; but, unable to bear his licentious conduct, she left his house, and withdrew to that of her brother. Alcibiades showed no concern on her account, but even lived more freely than before. According to the law of Athens, a wife who left her husband, was required to appear publicly in person, and place her letter of divorce in the hands of the magistrate. When Hipparete appeared, in obedience to this law, Alcibiades, who was present, violently seized her, and carried her to his house, no man thinking he had a right to hinder him. She remained in his house until her death, which happened a short time after, when Alcibiades was absent on a voyage to Ephesus. The law seems to have been made for the purpose of giving the husband, in such circumstances, an opportunity of recovering his wife.

12. Alcibiades had a dog of uncommon size, and great beauty, which had cost him a large sum. He cut off the tail, which was the most beautiful part of the dog.

His friends were greatly mortified, and told him that everybody blamed him for mutilating so noble an animal. "That is just what I wish," said Alcibiades; "I wish the Athenians to amuse themselves with this folly, that they may say nothing worse against me."

13. The first occasion of his taking a part in public business was rather accidental than designed. Passing through the city, he observed a great concourse of people, and finding that it was caused by a gift of money distributed among the citizens, he gave away sums of money as he went on. The people cheered him so loudly for his generosity, that, in his joy, he forgot a quail, which, following the fashion of the day, he had in his cloak, and which took fright at the noise, and flew away. The people set up a louder shout, and ran about to help him to catch the bird. She was caught at last, by Antiochus, the pilot of a vessel, who for that reason became a favourite with Alcibiades.

14. Alcibiades, though greatly distinguished by his wealth, his courage, his exploits, and the number of his friends and relatives, relied mainly on the force and gracefulness of his eloquence for acquiring credit and authority among the people. The greatness of his eloquence is witnessed not only by the comic poets, but even by the prince of orators, who says expressly, in his oration against Midias, that "Alcibiades passed for the most eloquent man of his time." Yet, if we may believe Theophrastus, as inquisitive and well-informed a writer as any other philosopher, while Alcibiades had no superior in the readiness of his invention and imagination, he was often at a loss for words, and hesitated in his address.

15. He was famous for the great number of his horses and chariots: for no private person, nor even any king, had ever sent, as he did, seven chariots to the Olympic games at one time. By carrying away the first, second, and fourth prizes, he surpassed all other competitors in those races. His first victory was rendered still more illustrious by the honours which were heaped upon him even by his rivals. The Messenians prepared for him a magnificent tent; the citizens of Chio fed his horses, and supplied him with victims for the sacrifices; and the Lesbians furnished him with wines, and the luxuries of a most sumptuous table for his public entertainments. But he was

guilty of a trick, which, if not invented by calumny, obscured the glory of his name. It is reported, that Diomedes, an honourable friend of Alcibiades at Athens, being anxious to obtain a prize at the Olympic games, had set his heart on a splendid chariot at Argos, and knowing that Alcibiades had great influence there, he begged that he would buy it for him. Instead of buying it for his friend, Alcibiades procured it for himself, leaving the disappointed Diomedes to deplore his perfidy.

16. As soon as Alcibiades applied himself to public matters, though he was very young, he left the other popular leaders far behind. There were only two who could at all bear up against him, Phæax, son of Erusistratus, and Nicias, son of Niceratus. Nicias was already an old man, one of the greatest generals of the time. Phæax like Alcibiades, was beginning to push his way: he was of noble birth, but inferior to Alcibiades in many respects, and most of all in eloquence. He was highly engaging in conversation, but fitter to shine in a private dispute, than to carry on succcessfully a public debate, in the assemblies of the people. As Eupolis says, "He was an admirable talker, but not a speaker. There is still to be seen an oration against Alcibiades and Phæax, in which the former is accused of having used at his table the public and sacred vessels of gold and silver consecrated to solemn processions, as if they had been his private property.

17. There was at Athens a person named Hyperbolus, mentioned by Thucydides as a very wicked man, who furnished ample materials for the invectives of the comic poets. His hardened infamy passed with some for courage. The people made use of this man to attack persons of dignity and reputation. At his instigation, they were about to decree the banishment by ostracism. It was manifest, that the ban would fall on Nicias, Phæax, or Alcibiades. Alcibiades joined his faction to that of one or other of his rivals, and caused the punishment to fall on their common enemy, himself.

18. Alcibiades was not less jealous of the admiration in which Nicias was held by strangers, and even enemies, than of the honours he received from the Athenians; for, though there were ties of hospitality between Alcibiades

and Sparta, and he had taken great care of the Spartan prisoners captured by the Athenians at Pylos, yet the Spartans leaned more to Nicias; for it was mainly to his exertions they owed the peace which had been made with Athens: indeed, it was a common saying among the Greeks that Pericles had begun the war, but that Nicias had ended it. Alcibiades, envious of these honours of Nicias, made up his mind that the peace should be broken. The first step he took for this purpose was to intrigue with the Argives. That people were only waiting for an opportunity of separating from the Spartans, whom they feared as much as they hated. Alcibiades secretly flattered them with the hope that they would be helped by the Athenians, who, he said, were already sick of the treaty which they had made with the Spartans, and ready to interrupt the peace which they felt to be disadvantageous to themselves.

19. After the Spartans had made an alliance with the Bœotians, they gave up to the Athenians the fort of Panacte—demolished, not fortified, as they had promised. Alcibiades, seeing the Athenians indignant at the bad faith of the Spartans, seized the opportunity of attacking Nicias by accusations which were not without some appearance of truth. He accused him of neglecting to take as prisoners of war, the Spartans, who had been left in the isle of Sphacteria, and of giving up others who were prisoners to gratify the Spartans; and, moreover, he charged him with being so partial to the Spartans, that he did not use his influence to prevent their joining the Bœotians and the Corinthians; while, on the other hand, when any Grecian state sought the alliance of the Athenians, Nicias had so ordered it that it could not be effected without the consent of Sparta. Nicias was greatly disconcerted by these charges. But just at the time, ambassadors had come from Sparta to Athens with full power to end their disputes by conceding whatever might appear to be just and reasonable. They were well received by the council; and the people were to meet on the following day. Alcibiades, fearing that the people might give them an equally gracious reception, contrived to have a private interview with the ambassadors. He said to them, "What is this business, Spartans? Know ye not that the senate always acts with moderation towards

ambassadors, but that the people affect a loftier tone? If you say that you have come with full powers, this people will observe no limits in pressing on you the most rigid terms; but if you would avoid demands to which you cannot yield, deal with the Athenians as though you had full powers: we will help you in bringing the matter to an issue which will be for the good of Sparta. Having said this, he gave them his oath; and he succeeded in transferring their confidence from Nicias to himself. The ambassadors were struck with admiration of his extraordinary sagacity and foresight.

20. On the morrow, the ambassadors appeared before the assembly of the people. Alcibiades asked them, with great suavity, what their proposals were. They replied, that they were sent to propose some accommodation of the disagreements between Sparta and Athens, but that they had no authority to conclude any business. Alcibiades then arose, and cried out against them, not like a man who was doing, but like one receiving an injury; he called them base and perfidious men, who had not come with any good design. The members of the council were indignant; the people were enraged. Nicias, ignorant of the trick played by Alcibiades, was astounded. The ambassadors withdrew. Alcibiades was chosen general. He formed a league with Argos, Mantinæa, and Elis. No man approved of the means which Alcibiades employed; but it was a great stroke of policy to disunite the Peloponnesians; to oppose so many troops to the Spartans in one day at the battle of Mantinæa; to remove the miseries of war far away from Athens; and to involve the Spartans in a combat from which victory could gain little advantage, but in which defeat would have been perilous to the very being of their state.

21. After the battle of Mantinæa, the principal officers among the Argives effected, with the aid of the Spartans, the overthrow of the popular government in Argos: but in a little while the people gathered strength, and they were enabled, by the help of Alcibiades, to recover their power. Alcibiades advised them to build walls reaching to the sea-coast, that they might always be in a condition to be joined by the Athenian forces. By sending them masons and carpenters, and showing in other ways his

devotion to their interests, Alcibiades acquired as much credit among them for himself as for Athens. He advised the people of Patræ, in like manner, to connect their city with the coast. When it was said to the Patræsians, "The Athenians will swallow you up some fine morning"—"That might be," replied Alcibiades, "but they will swallow them by degrees, beginning with the feet: while the Spartans could do it at once, by seizing the head."

22. At the time that Alcibiades was making his greatest exertions to increase the power of the Athenians at sea, he spared no effort to strengthen them on the land. He urged the young men to fulfil the oath which they had been required to swear in the sacred grove of Agrantus, "that they would acknowledge no limits for Attica but wheat, barley, wines, and olives;" inspiring them with the idea that every fruitful land was their rightful possession.

23. But these great qualities of Alcibiades, his policy, his eloquent discourses, his grand conceptions, and wonderful abilities, were disgraced with horrible vices. His luxury was prodigious: his life was a continual scene of dissipation and amusement. His effeminacy was displayed in the places of public meeting by the long train of his purple cloak, and, at sea, by suspending his bed on straps, that he might lie more softly; and his arrogant vanity was betrayed during war in the golden shield, on which, instead of such devices as were usual with the Athenians, might be seen a cupid armed with a thunder-bolt. The citizens were insulted by this costly ostentation. The wisest of them feared that such profusion and contempt of the laws discovered his ambition to become a tyrant. The many, however, were dazzled by the sumptuous entertainments and gifts which he lavished upon them. Carried away by their admiration of his person, his eloquence, his energy, and his practical experience, they covered his vices under gentle names, calling them generous frolics, and youthful sallies. Yet, whatever might be his generosity, he was the principal cause of the murder of the youths of Melos, by consenting to the decree which authorized that barbarity. One day, as he was coming away from a meeting, gratified in all his wishes, and with the greetings of the crowd, he was met by Timon, the misanthropist. Instead of trying to avoid him, according to his usual practice

towards all persons, Timon went up to him, and graciously stretching forth his hand, said, "Courage, my son; you do well to aim at greatness, for your greatness will be the ruin of the people." This saying was variously taken by different sorts of men: some only smiled; others were enraged against Timon, and charged him with injustice; while not a few laid it up in their hearts.

24. Towards the close of the life of Pericles, the Athenians had set their minds upon the conquest of Sicily; and after his death they began to work, under the show, at first, of merely sending arms and men to assist the cities that were oppressed or ill-treated by the Syracusans, but, in reality, opening their way for a bolder attack hereafter. Alcibiades was the great promoter of this scheme. He persuaded the people no longer to content themselves with their petty warfare, but to invade the island with a great fleet, and to subdue it at once. He flattered them with hopes of larger and further expeditions, to which the conquest of Sicily was to be only the beginning. He dreamed of the conquest of Carthage, of Africa, of Italy, of the Peloponnesus. The people entered into his views: they were enchanted with the glorious visions which he held out to them: they greedily listened to the wonderful stories of the older warriors: they spent their time in the *palæstræ*, and other places for public exercise, in tracing the plan of Sicily, of Carthage, and of Africa, upon the sand. Nicias, who knew that the taking of Sicily was a difficult matter, did his best to turn away the people from the thought of it. Socrates, too, it is said, and Menon the astrologer, augured no good from this enterprise. The latter, either led by his reason, which foresaw and feared the future, or by the rules of his art, pretended to be mad, and, seizing a burning torch, set fire to his own house. Others, however, maintain that Menon did not counterfeit madness, but that he set fire to his house in the night, and, in the morning, appeared at the public meeting of the citizens, beseeching them to have compassion on his misfortune, and to dispense with the service of his son in the war. By deceiving the Athenians, he obtained what he desired.

25. Much against his will, Nicias was appointed one of

the commanders of the Sicilian expedition. Besides other reasons for disliking the employment, he shrank from association with Alcibiades as a colleague. But the Athenians promised themselves a happy issue of the war, by tempering the ardour and boldness of Alcibiades with the wisdom and caution of Nicias. As for the third commander, Lamachus, he appears to Plutarch to have been not less sanguine and adventurous than Alcibiades himself. When the Athenians assembled to deliberate on the number of the troops, and on the means of furnishing a sufficient armament, Nicias repeated his efforts to induce them to abandon the scheme. But Alcibiades having successfully opposed all his arguments, Demostratus proposed and carried a decree, that the commanders should be abolute masters of the war, and of all the preparations.

26. When all was ready for the departure of the expedition, there were several unfortunate omens. It was the time for celebrating the festival of Adonis; the streets were crowded with figures representing corpses prepared for interment, and with women, smiting their breasts, and imitating, in melancholy chants, the gloomy pomp of funerals. In one night, the statues of Hermes throughout the city were mutilated — an event which troubled the greater part even of those who ordinarily despised all kinds of prodigies. There were those who insinuated that this was the work of the Corinthians, who favoured the Syracusans, as descended from their own people, and who hoped, by the terror of this presage, to alarm the Athenians, and induce them to delay, if not to abandon, the expedition. But the people would give no heed to this insinuation; neither would they listen, on the other hand, to those who assured them that there was nothing terrible in what had happened, because it was nothing more than a drunken outrage of some young men of the city. The people regarded this event, as not only a bad augury, but as the effect of a deep and serious conspiracy against the government. Both the senate and the people went into a severe examination of all persons on whom the slightest suspicion could fall, and they held numerous meetings in the course of a very few days. At length, Androcles, the orator, produced some slaves and

foreigners who deposed that, some days before, other statues besides those of Hermes had been defaced, and that, in a debauch, the sacred mysteries had been mimicked; they accused Alcibiades and his friends of this profanity; alleging that Theodorus had acted as herald, Polytron as torch-bearer, and Alcibiades as the chief priest; and that all the companions of Alcibiades had assisted as the initiated, and were called *mystæ*. All these particulars were written in the deposition of Thessalus, son of Cimon, who denounced Alcibiades as the author of this impiety against the goddesses Ceres and Proserpine.

27. The indignation of the people was thoroughly roused against Alcibiades; and Androcles, one of his mortal enemies, did all he could to inflame their anger. Alcibiades was at first greatly perplexed; but when he learned that all the sailors about to embark for Sicily were in his favour, and that the soldiers, especially the thousand men from Argos and Mantinæa, declared that they went on that distant expedition only from love to Alcibiades, and that they would instantly withdraw if any harm were done to him, he took heart, and publicly appeared to defend himself on the day appointed for his trial. His boldness shook the courage of his enemies: they feared, not without reason, that the people would be induced to drop the prosecution, because of their need of the services of Alcibiades. To relieve themselves from this difficulty, they had recourse to cunning. They fixed on such of the public orators as were known not to be opposed to Alcibiades, whom they hated not less than his most noted enemies, and persuaded them to declare in public, that it was a thing unheard of, and most unreasonable, that a citizen appointed to the command of so great an army, and whose troops were already brought together, and impatient to sail, should waste his time in waiting for the tedious formalities of a trial. Let him depart at once, they said; and when the war is over, let him be summoned to answer the charges which are laid against him. Alcibiades plainly saw the venom concealed under this delay. He said it was a hard thing, and strange, that they should send him on so important an expedition, burdened with such heavy accusations. "If I am guilty, I deserve to die; if I am innocent, let me be sent against your enemies, without having cause to fear

the detractors whom I leave behind me." But he could not gain the consent of the people; and he was ordered to depart. He set sail, with about a hundred and forty large ships, above five thousand regular troops, besides nearly thirteen hundred archers, slingers, and other light-armed soldiery, with an ample supply of stores and munitions of war.

28. Their first landing was at Rhegium, on the eastern shore of Italy. There a council was held by the commanders on the manner in which they should carry on the war. As Lamachus agreed with Alcibiades, in opposition to Nicias, they sailed for Sicily, and Alcibiades made a successful descent upon Catana. This was his first, and his last exploit in Sicily; for he was almost immediately recalled to Athens, to take his trial. His enemies there, availing themselves of his absence, had brought together all the evidence against him, and accused him of having planned a conspiracy to overthrow the government. All the persons who had been denounced as his partisans were put in prison, without being examined, and there was a general dissatisfaction because Alcibiades had not been brought to judgment when they had him in their power: all his kindred, friends, and acquaintances, who fell into the hands of the people during the first transport of their rage, were treated with extreme severity. The informers, however, could not adduce clear and certain proofs of the guilt of Alcibiades. One of them being asked how he could recognise the persons of those who had defaced the statues, answered that he saw them by the light of the moon; which was impossible, as there was no moonlight at the time. This falsehood struck persons of intelligence; and they loudly expressed their indignation; but the popular fury was not to be assuaged, informations were still received; and the persons denounced were still sent to prison.

29. Among the prisoners was the orator Andocides, described by Hellanicus as a descendant of Ulysses, as an enemy of the popular form of government, and a supporter of oligarchies. Suspicion of being concerned in the conspiracy fell on him because, amid the general mutilation of the statues, the large statue of Hermes, near his house, consecrated by the tribe Ægis, one of the largest and most beautiful in Athens, had been left untouched.

In his prison, Andocides formed an acquaintance with another prisoner named Penidus, a man of unfair reputation, but noted for his talents and his boldness. This man persuaded Andocides to plead guilty to the charge of which he knew he was innocent, and to accuse a small number of accomplices, among whom were some of his own servants. Andocides himself was pardoned, but those whom he accused, excepting such as had time to flee, were put to death.

30. The people were irritated rather than appeased by the escape of those whom they regarded as the criminals; and they resolved to wreak their vengeance on Alcibiades. They sent the ship *Salamis*, ordering the commander to request the return of Alcibiades to Athens for the purpose of soothing the minds of the people. So gentle a message was wise; for the army, being in an enemy's country, might easily have been excited by Alcibiades to revolt: and, in fact, his departure was regretted as exposing them to a languid continuance of the war, under the inactive counsels of Nicias; for though Lamachus was a brave warrior, his poverty lessened his authority. Alcibiades, however, did not hesitate to embark forthwith; but before his departure, he prevented the city of Messena from falling into the hands of the Athenians: some traitors within the city were preparing to surrender; and he communicated their names to the authorities in Syracuse. As soon as Alcibiades reached Thurium, he concealed himself from his pursuers. Some one having recognised him, asked him, "Alcibiades, Can you not trust your country?" to whom he answered, "In all other matters, I could trust her; but where my life is at hazard, I could not trust my own mother, lest she should mistake a black bear for a white one." Some time after, being told that the Athenians had condemned him to death, he said, "But I will let them know assuredly that I am alive." It was part of his condemnation that all priests and priestesses should curse him: one solitary priestess, Theano, of the temple of Agrantus, had the courage to disobey the order, saying that she was a priestess "to bless, but not to curse."

31. During the proceedings against him at Athens, Alcibiades was at Argos, for in leaving Thurium, he had passed to the Peloponnesus. Being afraid of his enemies,

and abandoning all hope of revisiting his own country, he sought the protection of the Spartans, pledging his honour, that, as their friend, he would do them more good, than he had done them harm as an enemy. The Spartans received him with open arms. On his arrival among them, he encouraged them to send Gylippus to oppose the Athenians in Sicily, and likewise to fortify Decelea, near Athens. Not only in public, but in private, Alcibiades became popular among the Spartans. They were charmed with his conformity to all their hardy modes of living, and could scarcely imagine it possible that the same man had been always accustomed to the softness of Athenian luxury. Indeed, the secret of his influence over men's minds, was his quick adoption of the passions, inclinations, and manners of those among whom he lived, passing from one set of habits to the other more easily than the chameleon changes colours; for it is said, that the chameleon cannot imitate white; but there was no mode of living which Alcibiades could not assume, the good as well as the bad. At Sparta, he was frugal, laborious, and austere; in Ionia, he was loose and voluptuous; in Thrace, he was always on horseback, or spent his days in drinking; and when he was with the Persian satrap, Tissaphernes, he surpassed even the Persians in extravagance and luxury. Not that he really passed from one passion to another, or changed his inclinations; but, seeing that if he followed his natural disposition, he would wound and offend those with whom he lived, he accustomed himself to wear the mask which was for the time the most convenient. At Sparta he would have been taken for a disciple of Lycurgus; but there, he gained by wicked means the affection of the wife of king Agis.

32. After the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily, the people of Chios, of Lesbos, and of Cyzicum, sent ambassadors at the same time to Sparta, offering to revolt from Athens, and place themselves under the protection of Sparta. The Bœotians interested themselves on behalf of the people of Lesbos, and Pharnabazus interceded for those of Cyzicum. But Alcibiades persuaded the Spartans to send succour, in the first place, to the people of Chios. He himself stirred up all the Ionians to rebellion, and, associated with the Spartan generals, inflicted the severest

injuries on the Athenians. Agis, the Spartan king, had already become the enemy of Alcibiades, because of his seduction of the queen. He could ill bear to see him enjoying so much glory. The most ambitious of the Spartan generals, equally jealous and envious, obliged the magistrates of Sparta to send orders to Ionia for putting him to death. But Alcibiades had secret intelligence of these orders; and while he still served the Spartans, he kept himself on his guard against the snares which they were laying for his destruction.

33. For his own greater safety, Alcibiades now threw himself into the arms of Tissaphernes, one of the satraps of the Persian king. He soon attained the highest sway at the court of this Barbarian. Tissaphernes was himself an unprincipled man, addicted to fraud and treachery; and he could not fail to admire the suppleness and craft with which Alcibiades could put on any character he pleased. Nor was he of so hard a nature as to resist the fascinations of his society; for even those who most feared and envied him were charmed by the attractions of his conversation. Tissaphernes, though a ferocious man, and the bitterest hater of the Greeks among all the Persians, was so overcome by the flatteries of Alcibiades, that he gave himself up entirely to his influence, seeking only to please him, and flattering him even more than he was flattered by him. He carried this complaisance so far, as to give the name of Alcibiades to the most delicious of his gardens.

34. Alcibiades, finding that he could be no longer safe among the Spartans, and dreading the just resentment of their king, used all his arts to lessen them in the eyes of Tissaphernes, that he might keep him from helping them entirely to destroy the Athenians. He persuaded him to send only small succours to the Spartans, but leaving them and the Athenians to weaken each other, to reduce both to the necessity of at length submitting to the power of Persia. Tissaphernes had little difficulty in following these counsels. He lost no opportunity of loading Alcibiades with tokens of his esteem. He thus became an object of interest both to the Spartans and to the Athenians. The Athenians felt the misery of having incurred his hatred, and sorely repented now of the condemnation which they had carried against him. Alcibiades, too, on his part was

grieved to see the Athenians in such peril, and he began to fear that if Athens should be entirely ruined, he would fall into the power of the Spartans, who had become his mortal enemies.

35. The whole interest of the Athenians centred, at this time, in Samos, where they had mustered all their forces. From thence their fleet had reduced to submission all the cities which had revolted, and kept the rest in obedience; and they were still in a condition to make head against their enemies; but they were afraid of Tissaphernes, and of the hundred and fifty ships from Phœnicia, which they were daily expecting; and they had no hope, if such a force should attack them, of preserving the safety of Athens. Alcibiades, well knowing all that was passing among them, sent secretly to the principal Athenians at Samos, giving them hopes of procuring the aid of Tissaphernes, not to gratify the people whom he always suspected and distrusted, but to oblige and save the nobles, if they would show their courage in repressing the insolence of the people, and save both themselves and their country by taking the management of affairs into their own hands. The chiefs of the Athenian army gladly lent an ear to these promises of Alcibiades; one only, Phrynichus, suspecting truly that Alcibiades cared as little for oligarchy as for democracy, and that in calumniating the people he only sought to insinuate himself into the good graces of the nobles to get himself recalled, ventured to oppose the general resolution. Seeing that his advice was not taken, and that he had made Alcibiades his enemy, he sent intelligence to Astyochus, the commander of the enemy's fleet, urging him to procure the arrest of Alcibiades, who was playing false with both parties. But, in his imprudence, he was not aware that he addressed his treasonable correspondence to another traitor. Astyochus was then making his court to Tissaphernes; and knowing that Alcibiades was all-powerful with that satrap, he communicated to him the advice which he had received from Phrynichus. Alcibiades lost no time in sending to Samos, to denounce Phrynichus, who, seeing all men in arms against him, sought to remedy the effects of his crime by committing another and a greater. He immediately wrote again to Astyochus, complaining of his betraying his

secret, but offering to deliver to him the fleet and the army of the Athenians. But this new perfidy of Phrynichus was frustrated by Astyochus, who informed Alcibiades of the offer which he had made. Phrynichus, foreseeing that he would again be accused by Alcibiades, showed the Athenians that they would be immediately attacked by the enemy, and exhorted them to be prepared, by remaining in their ships, and fortifying their camp. The Athenians had scarcely begun to act on this advice, when they received letters from Alcibiades, pressing them to keep a sharp watch on Phrynichus, who had engaged to betray them to the Spartans, but they gave no credit to the accusation, believing that Alcibiades, informed of the design of their enemies, was artfully using this conjuncture to calumniate Phrynichus, whom he deeply hated. Not long after, Phrynichus was stabbed to death by one of the guards commanded by Hermon, in the public assembly. The Athenians, after his death, instituted a judicial inquiry into his conduct, condemned him as a traitor; and awarded crowns to Hermon and his accomplices for having dispatched him.

36. The friends of Alcibiades, finding themselves strong at Samos, sent Peisander to Athens, to change the form of government, to encourage the nobles to assume the supreme power, and entirely to destroy the democracy, assuring them that Alcibiades would secure the protection and support of Tissaphernes, in accomplishing their purpose. This was only a pretext. For, as soon as those who called themselves the Five Thousand, or rather, the Four Hundred, had succeeded in usurping the whole authority, they cared little about Alcibiades, and cooled in their ardour for the war, distrusting the people, who could but ill brook the loss of popular government; and expecting that the Spartans would relax in their opposition to them, as they were always well inclined towards an oligarchy. Meanwhile the people at Athens maintained a gloomy silence through fear; for they had seen all who had the courage to oppose the tyranny of the Four Hundred murdered before their eyes.

37. When the Athenians at Samos received intelligence of what had happened in Athens, they resolved instantly to go to the Piræus. They chose Alcibiades for their general, and desired him to lead them against the Tyrants. Alcibiades did not, on this occasion act as, perhaps, any

other man raised to so high a dignity by the favour of the people would have done. He did not think that he ought to comply with the wishes even of those who had raised him when a banished fugitive to the head of such a powerful fleet and formidable army. He thought himself bound to oppose their blind fury, which was about to precipitate them into certain danger, and to prevent their committing an error, which must have been followed by their total ruin. Thus, it was he who saved Athens. For, if they had sailed to the Piræus, as they proposed, their enemies, without striking a blow, would have become masters of Ionia, of the Hellespont, and of all the islands: while the Athenians, carrying the war into their own city would have wasted all their strength against each other. This was prevented by Alcibiades alone. He harangued the army on the danger of so sudden a departure; he privately intreated the leaders; he repressed the ardour of the most impatient. In all this, he was ably seconded by Thrasybulus, who followed him everywhere, and had the loudest voice of all the Athenians.

38. When the faction of the Four Hundred was destroyed, the friends of Alcibiades embraced the side of the Athenian people with much zeal and affection. The people then determined to recall Alcibiades. He, however, judging that if he returned to Athens empty-handed, without having achieved any great victory, he would owe his return only to the compassion and favour of the citizens, resolved to make his return glorious by some triumphant exploit. For this purpose, he left Samos with a small fleet, and cruised round the islands of Cos and Cnidos, where he heard that Mindarus, the Spartan admiral, was sailing towards the Hellespont with his entire navy, pursued by the Athenians. He scoured the coasts with great diligence to succour the Athenians; and, happily, he arrived exactly at the time when both the fleets had been engaged till night in a desperate combat, opposite to Abydos. His appearance deceived both parties, reviving the Spartans, and distressing the Athenians. But Alcibiades, hoisting the Athenian colours, ran down upon the Spartans, who were the strongest, put them to flight, forced them to the shore, burned their ships, and slaughtered the men who threw themselves overboard to escape by swimming; though

Pharnabazus did everything to help them. The Athenians, after taking thirty ships of the Spartans, and regaining their own which they had lost, erected a trophy of victory. Alcibiades, flushed with this victory, had the ambition to show himself to Tissaphernes in his triumphal robes. Preparing rich gifts to offer him, in his own name, and in that of the Athenians, he approached him with a magnificent train, becoming the dignity of an Athenian general. But he was not received as he had expected. Tissaphernes was himself accused by the Spartans. He feared that the king might punish him for disobeying his orders. He looked on the appearance of Alcibiades as offering a favourable opportunity of vindicating himself from the accusations of the Spartans; and he arrested Alcibiades, and sent him prisoner to Sardis.

39. Only thirty days after, Alcibiades having got possession of a horse, made his escape. He flew to Clazomene. To revenge himself on Tissaphernes, he gave it out that the satrap himself had provided for his escape. From Clazomene he reached the Athenian fleet. Hearing that Mindarus and Pharnabazus had retired to Cyzicum, he told the Athenians that they must fight the enemy both by sea and by land, and that they must besiege Cyzicum; for unless they completed the victory, they would be destitute both of food and money. The troops embarked at once. When they reached the isle of Proconnesus, he ordered the lightest vessels to be inclosed in the middle of the fleet; and that care should be taken to prevent the enemy from having any knowledge of their approach. There fell a heavy rain, accompanied with thunder, and followed by thick darkness, so that his approach was concealed from the enemy. When the darkness cleared up, the Peloponnesian ships were seen at anchor outside the harbour of Cyzicum. Alcibiades, fearing lest they should see the great number of vessels that followed him, and betake themselves to the shore, ordered all his captains to linger behind, while he advanced with only forty ships, and offered battle. The enemy, deceived by this stratagem, and despising so small a fleet, engaged; but when they saw the other Athenian ships come up, they lost heart, and took to flight. Alcibiades then detached twenty of his swiftest ships, landed his troops, and killed a great number of the fugitives.

Mindarus, who fought with surprising bravery, was among the slain. Pharnabazus escaped by flight. The Athenians remained masters of the field of the dead, of the arms and the spoil, and of nearly all the ships. They took Cyzicum, which Pharnabazus had abandoned. They secured the dominion of the Hellespont, and cleared all those seas of the Spartans. They intercepted letters, which informed the Ephori at Sparta of the check they had received, and in a truly laconic style:—"The flower of your army is lost: Mindarus is killed: the rest of the men are dying of hunger: we know not what to do."

40. The soldiers of Alcibiades were so proud of this victory, that, pretending to be invincible, they disdained to mingle with other soldiers who had been beaten; for the army of Thrasyllus had been repulsed at the walls of Ephesus, and the Ephesians had raised a trophy of bronze to commemorate the disgrace of the Athenians. The companions of Alcibiades reproached those of Thrasyllus for this dishonour to their country, and refused to receive them in their camp, or to join them in exercise. But it happened one day that Pharnabazus came down with a large force, both horse and foot, on the Athenians, as they were foraging on the territory of Abydos: Alcibiades joined Thrasyllus in driving away the troops of Pharnabazus; from that time the separated companies of the Athenians became one camp. On the morrow, Alcibiades pillaged the whole country of Pharnabazus without resistance, carrying away many priests and priestesses, whom he afterwards restored without ransom. He then went to besiege Chalcedon, which had revolted from Athens, and had received a Spartan garrison, of which Hippocrates, son of Mindarus, was governor. On his arrival, he learned that the Chalcedonians had committed all their stores to the care of the neighbouring Bithynians; he therefore marched to the Bithynian frontier, and so frightened them that they gave up everything, and formed a close alliance with him. Then, returning to the city, he inclosed it by a wall which reached from one sea to another. Pharnabazus came, with a great army, to raise the siege; and Hippocrates made vigorous sallies against the Athenians; but Alcibiades put Pharnabazus to flight, and killed Hippocrates, with a great number of his best men. He then

proceeded to raise contributions from the towns along the Hellespont.

41. It was in this voyage that he took Selymbria, where his life was imprudently exposed to imminent danger. The party which had agreed to surrender the place were to raise a flaming torch at midnight, but one of their number having suddenly changed his mind, the rest were obliged to anticipate the appointed hour, and to give the signal before the army was ready to advance. Alcibiades, resolved not to fail on his part, took with him about thirty men, gave orders that the rest should follow with all speed, and ran towards the walls. Some twenty lightly armed men joined him at the gate which they had opened, and he went boldly forward. But now he heard the Selymbrians, as they came, full armed, to meet him. Seeing no hope of standing against such a force, but recollecting at the same time, that he had never fled from an enemy, he ordered a trumpeter to give the signal for silence, and then commanded one of his people to proclaim aloud, "that the Selymbrians should not take arms against the Athenians." This unexpected cry checked the ardour of some, who imagined that the whole Athenian army was in the city; and others began to think of terms of accommodation. While they talked the Athenian army came up; but Alcibiades, believing that the citizens were well disposed towards him, feared lest the city should be plundered by the Thracians, who followed him in large numbers, and fought hard from love to his person; he therefore withdrew them all from the city, and, obliging the Selymbrians to pay him some sums of money, and to receive within their walls an Athenian garrison, he retired.

42. During this expedition of Alcibiades, the other Athenian generals, whom he left to carry on the siege of Chalcedon, made a treaty with Pharnabazus. When Alcibiades had confirmed this treaty, he went to Byzantium, which had revolted, and built a strong wall on the land side. Anaxilaus, Lycurgus, and some other Byzantines, secretly agreed to surrender, on condition that he would save the city from pillage. With this understanding, he gave out a report that he was suddenly called away to Ionia, and sailed, with his own fleet, in open day; but returning the following night, with some chosen troops, he

silently approached the walls while his vessels entered the harbour; forcing the guards, he surprised the city, and afforded his friends time to receive him, while the astonished multitudes were crowding to defend the harbour. But a fearful struggle awaited him. The Bœotians and Megaræans, now in Byzantium, had repulsed the Athenians landing from their ships, and then returned to attack Alcibiades with his little band. The struggle was fierce and long; at length the victory was gained by Alcibiades and Theramenes, who commanded separate troops. They took three hundred prisoners; but, according to their agreement, the lives and property of the citizens were spared. Some time after the surrender of Byzantium, Anaxilaus was accused of treason at Sparta. He gained high honour by his defence. "Being a Byzantine, not a Spartan, and seeing not Sparta, but Byzantium in peril, when nothing could enter within their walls, and the little corn which remained was consumed by the Peloponnesian and Bœotian troops, while the citizens with their wives and children were dying of hunger, he had not surrendered to enemies; on the contrary, he had put a stop to the ills of war, with its attendant miseries and calamities; and, in so doing he had followed the maxim of the noblest Spartans, who acknowledged but one thing to be truly just and honourable – to do good to one's country." The Spartans, confounded by this defence, were filled with shame, and acquitted Anaxilaus, and his accomplices, of the crime laid to their charge.

43. Alcibiades longed to show himself to his fellow-citizens, after having gained such glorious victories over their enemies. Their own ships were adorned with the shields, and other spoils, taken in the war; and they towed in triumph the ships they had captured, with the standards and ornaments of those they had burned, which, altogether, amounted to nearly two hundred. Duris, of Samos, who boasted that he was a descendant of Alcibiades, adds that Chrysogonus, who had gained the prize in the Pythian Games, regulated the stroke of his oars by the music of his flute; that Callippides, a tragedian, clothed in theatrical magnificence, gave the orders; and that the admiral's ship entered the harbour with a purple sail: as if it had been a company of revellers returning from a feast. But there is no mention of this in Theopompus, or Ephorus, or Xeno-

phon; nor is it likely that Alcibiades, returning from an exile in which he had endured so many calamities, would have so ostentatiously insulted the Athenians. On the contrary, we find that he drew near to the shore with fear and trembling, and he would not venture to land till, from the prow of his vessel, he saw his kinsman Euryptolemus, and a large group of his friends, ready to receive him.

44. No sooner had he landed, than the people crowded round him, with their caresses and benedictions, not even deigning the slightest notice of the other generals. Those who could not reach him, gazed at him from afar; and the elders pointed him out, with admiration, to their children. Their joy was mingled with tears of regret for their past miseries. "Never," they said, "would the conquest of Sicily have failed, nor our other hopes have proved vain, if the whole command had been given to Alcibiades, who has now raised Athens from the ruins of a civil war, by restoring to her the empire of the sea, and rendering her everywhere victorious by land."

45. The joyous reception thus given to Alcibiades, did not prevent the people assembling to hear his public defence. He made his appearance before them. After deploring his calamities—for which he blamed, not the people, but his ill-fortune and some demon, envious of his prosperity—he opened to them the designs of their enemies, and exhorted them to cherish the loftiest hopes. The Athenians were enchanted with his discourse. They decreed to honour him with crowns of gold; they appointed him to the unlimited command of their forces by land and sea; they restored to him all his property which had been forfeited by the former sentence; they ordered the priest and heralds to absolve him from the curses which had been denounced against him. The principal of the heralds, Theodorus, had the courage to say:—"I should never have cursed him, if he had not done ill to Athens."

46. Everything having proceeded according to his wishes, and the hundred vessels which he was to command being prepared, he put off his departure, from an ambition to celebrate the "Greater Mysteries of Eleusis;" for, from the time that the Spartans had fortified Decelea, which commanded all the roads between Athens and Eleusis, that festival had not been celebrated with the ancient pomp,

since they had been obliged to conduct the procession by sea, and to omit the sacrifices and other appropriate ceremonies which they had been wont to perform on the sacred way, as they carried the statue of Bacchus to Eleusis. Alcibiades saw that it would be for the honour of the Athenian deities, and would raise him in the estimation of men, to restore this festival to its splendour and solemnity, by conducting the procession along the sacred way, and defending it from the enemy by his troops. For Agis would either let them pass quietly, notwithstanding the great force he had at Decelea, and thus tarnish his own glory, or by attacking them, would give Alcibiades the satisfaction of fighting for the most venerable of their religious mysteries, under the eye of his country, and of his fellow-citizens, who would be the spectators of his valour. Having formed this purpose, Alcibiades ordered the *Eumolpidæ* and the heralds to prepare themselves; placed guards on the heights; sent some men forward at break of day; and, covering the priests, the initiated, and the attendants with his army, led them on in perfect order and solemn silence, more like a priest than a general. Not an enemy approached. The procession was led back to Athens. The army was inspired with new courage, and believed that, with such a commander, they were invincible. So strongly did Alcibiades gain on the poorer and lower citizens, that they would have made him king. What his own ambition may have dictated, we do not know; but the most powerful among the Athenians, fearing an explosion, of which they saw the sparks already kindling, urged him to depart without delay, granting all that he asked, and giving him for associates such generals as he chose to have.

47. Setting sail from the Piræus with a hundred ships, he proceeded to punish the islanders of Andros, for rebelling against Athens. He defeated the troops of the island, and the Spartans, in a great battle; but he did not take their city. This omission was afterwards the chief head of an accusation brought against him by his enemies; for if ever there was a man ruined by his own glory, it was Alcibiades. The great fame which he had acquired, laid him open to the suspicion, that it must be from the want of inclination, not the want of ability, that he left anything

undone. The Athenians were so confident of his prowess, that they were daily expecting to hear that he had reduced to obedience Chios and all Ionia; never considering that, without money, he had to war with a people supported by the treasures of the Persian king, and that he was often compelled to leave the camp in search of pay and provision for his men.

48. The last crime of which he was accused had its origin in the following circumstances. Lysander, the Spartan commander, was furnished by Cyrus with money enough to pay his sailors four *oboli* a day, whereas Alcibiades could not pay his sailors more than three; and to raise the means of even doing this, he was obliged to gather the money in Caria, leaving Antiochus (who had gained his favour by recovering his quail, long before,*) in command of the fleet. In leaving Antiochus, Alcibiades gave him strict orders not to engage the enemy, whatever provocation they might give him. Antiochus, however, filled his own ship with troops, and taking another with him, he approached the enemy's fleet near Ephesus, insulting them with the most outrageous language and behaviour. Lysander detached a few ships at first, to follow him; but seeing all the Athenians coming to his rescue, he ordered out his whole force, killed Antiochus, took many of the ships, made a large number prisoners, and raised a trophy to commemorate his victory. When Alcibiades heard this dismal news, he hastened back to Samos, and offered battle to Lysander; but the Spartan, content with the victory he had gained, refused to engage him. Thrasybulus, son of Thrason, the most dangerous enemy Alcibiades had in the army, left the camp, and proceeded to Athens, for the purpose of accusing Alcibiades. He excited the people against him, by declaring in the public assembly that Alcibiades had entirely ruined their affairs, and had lost their ships, by abusing his power, in abandoning his authority to low and worthless men, while he spent his time in acquiring riches, and in criminal indulgences, at Abydos, and in Ionia. Alcibiades was likewise charged with having built some forts near Byzantium, to which he purposed to retreat, as one unwilling, or unable, to live in his own country. To these calumnies the Athenians gave heed;

* See section 13, page 150.

they showed their displeasure against Alcibiades, by appointing other generals.

49. When Alcibiades was informed of what had taken place at Athens, he left the camp of the Athenians, and, collecting some foreign troops, he levied a private war on some people in Thrace, who acknowledged no king. He thus amassed large booty, and defended the Greeks who dwelt in those countries from the incursions of the Barbarians. Three years after, Tydeus, Menander, and Adeimantus, who commanded the Athenian fleet at Ægos Potamos, in the Hellespont, had been in the habit of insulting the fleet of Lysander, lying opposite to them at Lampsacus, every morning at day-break, but spending the remainder of the day in negligence. Alcibiades, who from the shore watched these proceedings, went to remonstrate with these Athenian commanders, and prudently advised them to change their position for that at Sestos, where they would have the advantage of a good harbour, and would be in the neighbourhood of provisions. They scorned his advice, telling him that it was not for him to give them orders. Alcibiades returned, not without a suspicion that the Athenians were betrayed; and, as he left their camp, accompanied by some of his friends, he said that if he had not been so ill received, he would, in a few days, have made the Spartans either fight or abandon their fleet. Some took his words for a mere piece of vain boasting; while others saw in them nothing but what was probable; for Alcibiades had only to collect a few Thracians, who were good horsemen and good archers, and, by attacking the Spartan camp, throw them into confusion. However that may be, the event soon showed that he had a perfect knowledge of the fault committed by the Athenian commanders: for Lysander came upon them when they were least prepared; and, with the exception of eight vessels which escaped with Conon, their whole fleet, amounting to nearly two hundred ships, was taken, and three thousand men were made prisoners, who were all drowned when the victorious fleet returned to Lampsacus. A short time after this victory, Lysander became master of Athens, burned the Athenian ships, and pulled down the long walls which joined the city to the harbour of Piræus.

50. Alcibiades, alarmed at the success of the Spartans, and afraid of falling into their hands, made his way into Bithynia, carrying with him immense wealth, though he left much greater behind him, in his Thracian fortress. When he reached Bithynia, the Thracians robbed him of the greater part of his wealth. He therefore resolved to repair to the court of Artaxerxes, hoping that the king would find him not less useful than Themistocles had been; for which he had a better pretext than Themistocles; for he sought the king's protection, not against his fellow-citizens, but against the enemies of his country. As he believed that Pharnabazus would give him a safe conduct to the king, he went to that satrap in Phrygia, where he abode for a long time, and was treated with every mark of esteem and honour.

51. The Athenians were now in the last extremity of misery. Their power was entirely prostrate. Lysander robbed them not of power only, but of liberty, by placing them under the dominion of thirty tyrants. In their desolation they remembered the great errors they had committed. Of all these the greatest was their treatment of Alcibiades, whom they had driven away from no fault of his own; but had punished the rashness of a pilot who lost a few ships by depriving themselves of the service of their wisest and noblest commander. One ray of hope alone remained amid all their darkness: while Alcibiades lived, they believed their affairs would not be desperate. "For, if, during his first exile, he could not remain inactive, how can he be expected," they said, "now to bear the arrogance of Sparta, and the unjust cruelty of the Thirty Tyrants?" Nor was it without some shadow of reason that they indulged such thoughts, since the tyrants themselves displayed the greatest anxiety respecting the movements of Alcibiades.

52. At last Critias sought to convince Lysander that the ruin of the Athenian democracy would assure to Sparta the empire of Greece. His arguments did not influence Lysander, and he received a mandate from the Ephori at Sparta, ordering him to procure the destruction of Alcibiades. He sent the order to Pharnabazus. Pharnabazus committed it to his brother and his uncle. Alcibiades was then living at a village in Phrygia, with only one female

companion, named Timandra. The men who were sent to kill him were afraid to enter his house. They set it on fire. Perceiving that he was taken, Alcibiades laid hold of such hangings and coverings of various kinds as he could roll into a heap, which he flung into the midst of the fire, and then wrapping his cloak round his left arm, and holding his sword in his right hand, he burst through the stifled flames unhurt. The astonished Barbarians dared not await his approach, but, as they fled, they pierced him with their darts and arrows. Timandra covered his remains with her richest garments, and buried him with as much splendour as she could.

53. The career of Alcibiades displays an extraordinary mixture of heroic qualities, with the total absence of moral principles. He is one of the most remarkable instances in history of great abilities disgraced by appalling vices. Unhappily for society, such men corrupt the minds and vitiate the character of those with whom they associate; and, long after their death, the grandeur of their exploits surrounds their names with a delusive glory in which the memory of their crimes is lost. People in all countries are prone to reward men for public service, by overlooking the base passions and the vile principles which they have gratified in rendering that service. Plutarch, himself a heathen philosopher, has exposed not a few of the most glaring faults of Alcibiades. It is not for us to dwell on them minutely; yet how can we avoid observing the depravity of man's heart, when we see so much sensuality, falsehood, and selfishness pervading the whole character of one of the greatest men of the most polished nation in the world? It is but one proof of this depravity that the absence of early restraint, and the habit, from childhood, of unbridled indulgence, should have produced such fruits. "Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these; Adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like," Galatians v. 19—21.

54. Alcibiades was a pupil and a friend of Socrates, the most religious of the Grecian philosophers, enjoying therefore all the advantages of that philosopher's knowledge and powers of persuasion. How feeble is the check

of the sublimest philosophy on the passions of our fallen nature! Its discoveries were too imperfect to reveal the character of God, and to explore the inward nature of man. It had no authority: it did not reach the conscience. Its motives to such virtue as it taught were weak. It was altogether unfit to redeem man, for it knew not the one Mediator: it could not regenerate him, for it knew no power beyond man himself. It was one of the miseries of Athens that the people could not trust their leaders, nor the leaders the people. There was no solid ground for mutual confidence. While their rulers amused them with shows, flattered them with eloquence, or gratified their pride by humbling other states, they were adored, whatever may have been their personal crimes; but no amount of public service was remembered when their passions were heated against the same men by party rancour, or by the malice of jealousy and envy. If we look at this state of things in the light of religion, we form only a low estimate of the Athenians, notwithstanding their worldly wisdom, their love of freedom, their patriotism, their splendour, and their power. These qualities go but a little way towards securing even the outward welfare of a people, when they are unaccompanied by the self-restraint, the love of justice, and the good-will towards men which the gospel inculcates, and which true Christian faith produces. And knowing as we do that the most prosperous, sagacious, and moral of mankind need the constant renewal of the Holy Spirit to make them really safe, wise, pure, happy, and meet for the city of the living God, we turn with sadness from the contemplation of the Athenians in their highest glory, to blessing God that the "darkness is past, and the true light now shineth" on us.

LIFE OF LYSANDER.

B. C. 408.

1. It is reported that Aristocleitus, Lysander's father, did not belong to either of the royal families of Sparta, though, like them, he was descended from the Heracleidæ. Lysander himself was trained up in poverty. He distinguished himself above all others of his age, by his strict observance of the Spartan institutions, by his bravery, and by his superiority to any pleasure but that which flows from the honour of successful undertakings. If young men failed to enjoy *that* pleasure, it was not the fault of Sparta; for her citizens wished her children to feel the spurs of ambition from their earliest years.

2. The ambition of Lysander, therefore, may be ascribed rather to his education than to his natural disposition. To his own disposition, indeed, we must ascribe the court, so ill becoming a Spartan, which he paid to the great; and the ease with which he submitted to their insolence when he could gain advantage by it:—a temper which too many admire, as the best kind of policy. Aristotle, who describes great men as naturally melancholy—instancing Hercules, Socrates, and Plato—says that this was the case with Lysander, not in his youth, but in his later years. He had this peculiarity in his character—that, while he was poor himself, and was never corrupted by the love of money, he filled his country with riches, and banished from her that contempt of luxury which had been her strength and glory. After the taking of Athens, he brought great sums of money into Sparta, though he took not a single drachma for himself. It is mentioned, as a proof of his disinterestedness that, when Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, sent some rich tunics as presents to Lysander's daughters, Lysander would not allow his daughters to accept them, saying, "he feared that these beautiful dresses would make them less fair in his eyes." Yet, it must be added, when, on another occasion, he was sent on an embassy to Sicily, and Dionysius sent two tunics, with a request that he would choose one of them for his daughter, Lysander

said, "My daughter can choose better than I can;" and he took home both the tunics.

3. When the Peloponnesian war had continued for a long time, and it seemed likely that the Athenians, after their defeat in Sicily, would be driven from the sea, and be no longer able to maintain the war, Alcibiades made so great a change after his recall, that the Athenians were quite able to maintain their ground against the Spartans. The Spartans now began, in their turn, to fear; and, seeing that the war would require an able leader and ample preparations, they appointed Lysander commander of the fleet. When he arrived at Ephesus, he found the people well affected towards Sparta; but, in other respects, they were in a most discouraging condition. Lying not far from Sardis, where the Persian satraps passed the winter, they were fast sinking into the feebleness of Persian manners. Lysander encamped near Ephesus; ordered thither all the shipwrights he could find, began vigorously to build new ships; and opened the harbour to merchants; their markets soon became the scene of busy traffic; and their houses and their shops were filled with wealth; so that, from this time, the Ephesians looked forward to the dignity and magnificence which they afterwards enjoyed so long.

4. While Lysander was thus engaged, he was told that Cyrus, the king of Persia's son, had come to Sardis. He went to complain to him against Tissaphernes, who, though he had been charged to aid the Spartans in chasing the Athenians from the sea, was openly favouring Alcibiades, and, by his neglect in supplying provisions, was ruining the Spartan fleet. Cyrus was not unwilling to listen to such complaints; he regarded Tissaphernes as a worthless person, and he was his own private enemy. Lysander soon established himself in the good graces of the young prince; and, by his obsequious devotion to his pleasure, he engaged him to take part in carrying on the war against the Athenians. Before his return to Ephesus, he was entertained by Cyrus at a feast. Cyrus desired Lysander to make use of his regard for him, assuring him that he would not refuse any of his requests. "Since you are so generous to me," said Lysander, "I ask you to add an *obolus** to the wages of my seamen." Delighted with the

* Equal to about 1½*d*.

high-mindedness of this request, Cyrus gave him ten thousand *darics*.* By increasing the wages of his seamen, Lysander secured the best part of the crews from the Athenian ships; and those who were left behind became idle, or perpetually embroiled in quarrels with their officers. Yet, with these advantages, Lysander would not venture on a naval engagement; for the Athenians had still a large fleet, and they were commanded by Alcibiades, who had never yet been overcome, either on land or sea.

5. When Alcibiades left the Athenian fleet in the charge of the pilot Antiochus, and Antiochus sailed, contrary to his orders, with only two ships, to Ephesus, and there grossly insulted the Spartans, Lysander chased him. Other Athenian ships hastened to assist Antiochus, and the engagement became general between the two fleets. Lysander gained the victory. He sailed back, with fifteen of the ships which he had captured, and raised a trophy. The Athenian people were so enraged, that they deposed Alcibiades from his command. The army which he commanded despised him; he left them, and went to Chersonesus. The connection of this battle with the adventures of Alcibiades, gave to it an importance which otherwise did not belong to it.

6. From all the cities of Asiatic Greece, Lysander gathered those whom he knew to be the boldest and most ambitious; and he sowed the seeds of those revolutions which he afterwards effected. He excited private citizens to form parties, and to direct their minds to the public concerns of their several states. He promised that, when Athens was once humbled, all their cities should be freed from popular government, and the power placed in their own hands. He gave them pledges of the fulfilment of these promises, by promoting his adherents among them to the highest offices, honours, and emoluments; and he became their ready accomplice in every kind of violence and fraud. All men flocked to his service, believing that there was nothing too hard for them to effect, with such a leader.

7. Lysander was succeeded in the command by Callicratidas. From the first, the Asiatic Greeks received him ungraciously; and even after he had proved himself to be

* A gold coin, so called from Darius, by whom it was struck. It is said to have been equal to about 25*s.* of our money.

a man of the highest integrity, they still disliked his Doric simplicity and honesty. They praised his virtue, indeed, as they would have praised the symmetry of a heroic statue; but they regretted the indulgent friendships which Lysander had lavished on them, and they followed him, when he departed, with their lamentations and tears. Lysander himself took no small pains to alienate them from his successor. He sent back to Sardis what remained of the money which he had received from Cyrus for the payment of his seamen; and he ordered his successor to go and ask for it, as he had done, if it so pleased him, or to provide, in the best way he could, for the sustenance of his men. When he gave up his office, he said, "I resign to you the command of the sea." To rebuke this arrogance and vain ambition, Callicratidas said to him, "Then, sail to the left, by Samos, and deliver the fleet to me there; for if we have the command of the sea, we need not fear our enemies, stationed at that island." Lysander coolly replied, "The fleet is now under your command, not mine;" and he made sail for Peloponnesus.

8. Callicratidas was left in the midst of great difficulties. He had brought no money with him from Sparta, and he could not think of extorting any from the oppressed cities of Asia: his only resource was to go and beg it from the Persians, though this was a work for which he was ill fitted; it was contrary to his sense of dignity, for he thought it better to bear any calamity inflicted by Greeks, than to flatter the Barbarians, whose only superiority was in their money. Forced, however, by his exigencies, he went to Sardis, proceeded straight to the residence of Cyrus, and desired the porters to let him know that the Spartan admiral had come to speak to him. "Cyrus is not at leisure, stranger," said one of the porters, "for he is at table." Callicratidas simply said, "Well, I will wait here till he is at liberty." The men laughed at what they looked on as rusticity, and he withdrew. When he had gone a second time, and was not admitted, it was more than he could bear; and so he returned to Ephesus, bitterly cursing those who, by submitting to these Barbarians, had first taught them, because of their wealth, to treat others with such contempt. To those who accompanied him he swore, that, as soon as he reached Sparta, he would endeavour

to unite the Greeks among themselves, that they might make these proud Persians tremble, instead of stooping to ask them for help against each other. But he, who formed these purposes, so truly Spartan, and who was reckoned among the most high-minded men of Greece, was defeated and killed, not long after, in the battle of Arginusæ.

9. In the present ill state of affairs, the allies sent ambassadors to Sparta, begging that Lysander might be restored to the command, and engaging to support him with greater energy than before. Cyrus sent to press the same request. The law of Sparta forbade the re-appointment of the same admiral; but, as the Spartans wished to comply with the desire of their allies, they gave the title of admiral to Aracus, and the real power to Lysander, as his lieutenant. His arrival was welcomed by the great numbers in the various cities, who managed, or who aspired to manage, the public business; for on him they rested their hopes of soon abolishing the popular governments, and of taking the whole authority into their own hands. Those, on the contrary, who preferred an admiral of simple and upright character, contrasted Callicratidas with Lysander. To them Lysander appeared a crafty politician, who sacrificed justice to expediency. When it was said to him one day, that such policy was unworthy of a son of Hercules, he laughed at them, and said, "When the lion's skin is too small, we must patch it with that of the fox." The most glaring example of this feature in Lysander's character was given at Miletus. He had promised his friends and hosts in that city to help them in destroying the rights of the people; these men, however, had changed their minds, and they had become reconciled with the citizens. Lysander pretended, in public, to be satisfied with this change; but, privately, he condemned his old friends for what they had done, and stirred them against the people. As soon as the tumult became serious, he hastened into the city, went up to the leaders of the movement, and threatened to punish them severely. He then calmed the apprehensions of the people, by assuring them that there should be no more disturbance so long as he remained at Miletus; his object being to deceive the heads of the popular party, and to keep them in the city till they could

be put to death. And so it came to pass: all those who confided in Lysander were killed.

10. Cyrus invited Lysander to Sardis. He gave him large sums, and promised still larger. He made the most ostentatious display of his friendship. He told him that, if his father would not supply him, he would place his own means at his disposal; he would even melt down his throne of gold and silver. When he left Sardis to go to his father, in Media, he embraced Lysander, assigned for his use the tribute from the cities, intrusted his entire province to his charge, and besought him not to attack the Athenians, until he should return with a large fleet from Phœnicia and Cilicia.

11. After the departure of Cyrus, Lysander was not able to meet the Athenians, whose force, in that quarter, was equal to his own; neither was he willing to keep so large a fleet in a state of inactivity. He, therefore, went and seized some islands in the Ægean sea; he laid waste Ægina and Salamis. He then sailed to Attica, where king Agis came down from Decelea to show his army what a noble fleet the Spartans had to secure, beyond their expectation, the dominion of the sea. But as soon as Lysander perceived that the Athenian fleet had followed him, he quickly returned, by the shortest passage, through the midst of the islands, to Asia. He found the Hellespont without a garrison. He attacked Lampsacus from the sea, while Thorax attacked it by land. They took the city, and abandoned the plunder to their soldiers and sailors. Meanwhile, the Athenian fleet, which consisted of a hundred and twenty sail, had approached Eleus, a city of Chersonesus; but when they heard that Lampsacus was taken by the Spartans, they bore away for Sestos. There they laid in stores, and then proceeded to Ægos Potamos, opposite to the Spartan fleet at Lampsacus. The men of both fleets retired to rest, expecting a battle in the morning. But Lysander had something else in view. With the apparent intention of fighting at break of day, he directed his sailors and pilots to go on board their vessels, and wait silently for orders, while his land forces were, in the same quiet manner, to be in readiness for action on shore.

12. When the sun arose, the Athenians drew up their whole fleet in a line opposite the Spartans, and challenged them to battle. But though Lysander had all his ships manned and ready, he refused to move. He sent orders to the ships in front to remain stationary. In the evening, the Athenians returned. But Lysander would not allow any of his own people to land, until he had received a report of the landing of the Athenians, from two or three ships which he had sent to watch them. This manœuvre was practised for three or four days. The Athenians began to despise them. But, on the fifth day, when the Athenians had returned, with the same contempt for the enemy, Lysander sent some of his ships to observe them, ordering their commanders to return with all speed as soon as they saw the Athenians land, and to hoist a shield at each mast-head, as a signal. He then went through his fleet, exhorting both men and officers. The moment the shields were seen, the admiral's trumpet sounded; the next moment the ships were all in motion. The land forces hurried álong the shore to the promontory. The channel which separates Europe from Asia is, in this place, not two miles across. The first person that saw the Spartan fleet was Conon, the Athenian admiral. He speedily gave the alarm. He exhorted some, others he compelled, to embark. But it was too late. His people were scattered about: some in the market; some in the fields; some sleeping in their tents; others preparing their dinner. The shout of the Spartans, rushing on to the attack, was now heard. Conon took to flight; and, with eight ships, escaped in safety to Evagoras, king of Cyprus. The remaining ships were taken, or destroyed, by Lysander. The Athenian soldiers, hasting to their ships, without arms, perished; and those that remained on shore were killed by such of Lysander's men as had landed. The number of prisoners taken was three thousand. The only ship that escaped, besides those that accompanied Conon, was the sacred galley—called Paralus. The conqueror attached the captured vessels to his own; and, having rifled the enemy's camp, he returned, with the music of flutes and triumphal songs, to Lampsacus.

13. Thus easily, and in so short a time, did one man

bring to an end that long, tedious, and varied Peloponnesian war, which had destroyed more generals than all the other wars of Greece taken together.

14. The council condemned the Athenian prisoners to death. Lysander asked Philocles, their general, what punishment he deserved, who had given such cruel advice to his fellow-citizens against the Andrians and the Corinthians? Philocles, unbroken by calamity, replied, "Bring not accusations where there is no judge; but, as the conqueror, deal with me as you would have been dealt with if you had been defeated." Then having bathed, and put on a splendid robe, he headed the procession of his fellow-citizens to execution.

15. Lysander now went to all the cities on the coast, and ordered such Athenians as he found in them to return to Athens, threatening that he would spare none who should be taken, if they were out of their own city. His object was to crowd Athens with people, and thus make it easier to take it by siege. As he sailed along, he abolished everywhere the popular government, getting up in its stead a council of ten, chosen from among his own adherents and presided over by a Spartan governor, called a Harmost. By making such changes, not only in the cities held by the Athenians, but also in those of his own allies, he was bringing the government of all Greece to centre in himself. Having finished this business, he sent word to Sparta that he was coming home with two hundred ships. He went to Attica to join the Spartan kings, Agis and Pausanias, in the hope of soon forcing Athens to surrender. But the Athenians maintained so resolute a defence that he returned to Asia, pursuing the same course as before;—overturning the governments of the states, and either destroying or banishing all persons opposed to his new system. All the Samians were driven from their island; and their cities were given up to those who had been exiled. In driving out the Athenians from Sestos, he drove out the Sestians along with them, and divided the city and the adjoining territory among his pilots and sailors. But the Spartans at home reversed this act, and restored to the Sestians their own property.

16. The proceedings of Lysander gave general satisfaction to the Greeks. They rejoiced to see the Æginetæ,

the Melians, and the Scionæans, enjoying the independence of which the Athenians had deprived them. Athens herself was now suffering from famine. Lysander sailed to the Piræus, and forced the city to surrender. The Spartans demanded that the Athenians should destroy Piræus and the long wall, abandon all the cities which they held, keep within the limits of Attica, recall their exiles, pay the necessary expenses, and retain only as many ships as the Spartans might hereafter allow them. Such were the conditions of peace; and to these the Athenians submitted. It is said that, when Theramenes advised them to submit, a young orator, named Cleomenes, asked him —"Will you dare to oppose the policy of Themistocles, and give up to the Spartans the walls which he built, in opposition to their will?" To whom Theramenes replied, "I am not acting, young man, against the spirit of Themistocles; it was for the safety of the citizens that he built the walls, and it is for the safety of the citizens that we destroy them. If walls made cities happy, Sparta, which has none, would be the most miserable."

17. On the anniversary of the day on which the Athenians had defeated the Persians at Salamis, Lysander entered Athens. Here, as elsewhere, he changed the form of government. The command of the garrison he gave to Callibius. On some occasion, Callibius was raising his staff to strike Autolycus, a famous wrestler, who seized him by the legs and threw him down. Lysander told Callibius to remember that he had *free men* to govern; but, in a short time, the Thirty Tyrants avenged Callibius by putting Autolycus to death.

18. When Lysander had done all that he intended at Athens, he went to Thrace. His money, crowns, and other gifts, which he had in great abundance, he sent to Sparta, by Gylippus, who had been the general of the army in Sicily. It is said that Gylippus ripped open the seams at the bottom of the bags, and took from each of them large sums of money, without knowing that there was, in each bag, a paper stating the amount which it contained. When he reached Sparta he hid the stolen silver under the roof of his house, and delivered the bags, showing the unbroken seals, to the Ephori. The Ephori were perplexed at the disagreement between the written

statements and the contents of the bags. A servant of Gylippus told them that "there were many owls roosting in Ceramicus." By this riddle they understood that the Attic coins, which were stamped with an owl, were under the roof—for so the other word signified. Gylippus was so disgraced by this crime that he banished himself from Sparta. The wisest of the citizens, seeing how the most respected Spartans could be corrupted by money, blamed Lysander for introducing it among them; and they insisted that the Ephori should send all the gold and silver away, and continue to use only the ancient iron coin. Lysander's party opposed this design of sending the precious coins away; and they had it ordained that they should be regarded as public treasure, which it would be criminal to appropriate to any private uses.

19. Out of the spoils of the war Lysander dedicated, at Delphi, his own statue, with that of each of his naval officers, in bronze, and the stars of Castor and Pollux in gold. In the treasury of Brasidas and the Acanthrates he placed a ship, of gold and ivory, two cubits long, which Cyrus presented to him in honour of his victory. The power to which he now attained was greater than had been possessed by any of the Greeks; yet his arrogance and pride were still greater. The states of Greece raised altars to him as a god: hymns were addressed to him. The Samians dedicated to him the feast which had been sacred to Jupiter. Elated by these extravagant flatteries, his ambition and his violence knew no bounds. He rewarded those who pleased him by raising them to governments of which they were not called to give any account. Nothing short of death could satisfy his resentment. The same cruelty which he practised at Miletus characterized his general conduct in his later years. Nor were his expressions less savage than his actions. The Argives had a dispute with the Spartans respecting their boundaries. When they urged that they had better claims than the Spartans to certain lands, Lysander showed them his sword, saying, "He who wields this can speak best of claims." To a citizen of Megara, who spoke freely to him in a council, he said, "Your speech, friend, should be backed by a strong city." When the Bœotians hesitated

on the part they should take, he asked them whether he should march through their country with his spears erect, as in peace, or levelled, as in attack.

20. It was not likely that there should be no complaints against a man of such a spirit. All complaints were disregarded by the Spartans until they received letters from Pharnabazus, describing the injuries which he had received from Lysander. Then they recalled him: he was much alarmed: he hastened to make his peace with Pharnabazus. He begged him to write again to Sparta, withdrawing his accusations; but Lysander did not know that he had now to deal with a man more cunning than himself. In his presence Pharnabazus wrote such a letter as he desired; but he had prepared another letter of the same outward appearance, but very different in its contents; and, in the act of sealing, he dexterously exchanged the one for the other. When Lysander eached Sparta he delivered the letter, in the usual manner, to the magistrates, fully believing that the heaviest charge that could be brought against him was disposed of; for he knew that Pharnabazus had rendered such service to the Spartans, by his superior promptitude in war, that they held him in high esteem. The magistrates read Pharnabazus' letter, and then showed it to Lysander: he now saw that "Ulysses is not the only crafty man," and he left the place confounded and abashed.

21. Not many days after, Lysander asked leave from the magistrates to go to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, in Lybia, to present the sacrifices which he had vowed before his recent battles. Most men considered that this was a mere pretence, to conceal his fear of punishment, and his unwillingness to submit to any authority; for he would rather roam about in distant lands, than live under restraints in Sparta, where he felt like the horse brought from the range of a free pasture to the stall, and to his former labour. Having, with much difficulty, obtained leave, he departed. During his absence, both the kings of Sparta began to reflect that Lysander had gained his extraordinary power by the new governments which he had erected on the ruins of popular freedom. They at once determined on displacing Lysander's adherents, and restoring the power

of the people in their several states. The Athenians, proceeding from the stronghold of Phylæ, overturned the Thirty Tyrants.

22. These movements hastened Lysander's return. He roused the Spartans to support the few, and to punish the many. A hundred talents were sent to the Thirty Tyrants of Athens. Lysander was appointed general of the Spartans; but the kings were jealous of him; they feared that he might take the city a second time: they, therefore, resolved that one of themselves should head the expedition. Pausanias went professedly for the Tyrants against the people, but, really, to terminate the war, and to prevent Lysander from becoming once more master of Athens. And this was done with little difficulty; for, by promoting mutual good-will among the Athenians, and allaying their disturbances, he defeated the ambitious projects of Lysander.

23. After the death of Agis, Lysander used his influence to secure the succession to that king's half-brother, Agesilaus. When he had completed the service on which Agesilaus sent him to the Hellespont, he came back to Sparta in disgrace. The disdainful manner in which Agesilaus had treated him in Asia was not forgotten. The desire for revenge rankled in his bosom; and he resolved to carry out a design, which he had long entertained, of effecting a great change in the Spartan government. As he himself belonged to the race of the Heracleidæ, and the succession to the throne was confined within two families of that race, he desired to open the succession to all the Heracleidæ. With this view, he got Cleon of Halicarnassus to compose an oration, which he intended to deliver to the Spartans. But he was soon convinced that he must use bolder and more uncommon measures to gain his object. To work on the superstitions of the people, he attempted to bribe the oracles at Delphi, at Dodona, and in Lybia. His schemes entirely failed; and they were not known until after his death.

24. Lysander lost his life in the Theban war. The Thebans had claimed a tenth of the spoils taken at Decelea, when they were confederates with Sparta against Athens; and they had, afterwards, assisted the Athenians by their protection, their money, and their arms, in delivering themselves from the Thirty Tyrants whom Lysander had placed

over them. To avenge himself on these Thebans, he obtained permission to lead an army against them. Pausanias followed him as far as Platæa with another army. Lysander passed through Phocis to meet Pausanias; and, on his march he took Orchomenus and Lebadia. From Lebadia he wrote to Pausanias, requesting him to leave Platæa, and join him at Haliartus, where he intended to encamp at the dawn of day. Lysander's messenger was taken prisoner by some Thebans, and the letter was conveyed to Thebes. The Thebans left their own city in charge of some Athenian exiles, marched in the middle of the night to Haliartus, and occupied it with part of their troops before Lysander's arrival. When he approached the place, he took his position on an elevated spot, waiting for Pausanias: but as the day wore on without his appearing, his patience forsook him, and he led his men along the road towards the city. Those of the Thebans that were outside of the city fell upon Lysander's rear, not far from the fountain of Tilphos; while those within the walls, drawn up with the Haliartians, kept their standing until they saw Lysander, with his advanced guards, near their walls: then they rushed through their opened gates and killed him.

25. The poverty of Lysander, at the time of his death, gained for him a high reputation among the Spartans. After all the treasures he had had at his disposal, and the almost unbounded authority to which he had arisen, he added not an obolus to his own property. It was by no means the least of the honours which the Spartans rendered to his memory, that they fined those who had engaged to marry Lysander's daughters, but renounced them when their father's death revealed their poverty.

26. The varied life of this most able and accomplished of the Spartans inspires us with more detestation of his character than admiration of his genius. It is true that he was poor when he might have been rich. He may be said to have left a

——— "name to other times,
Link'd with one virtue, and a thousand crimes."

But he gained, without riches, all that other men can hope to gain by means of them. He was, pre-eminently, a deceiver: entirely destitute of truth, integrity, or any

moral principle but temperance; and, though temperate himself, he corrupted others for the sake of gratifying his ruling passion,—the love of power. Thus, in humbler spheres of action, the show of some one good quality is made to cover, or excuse, innumerable faults. Surely, no excuse can avail the deceiver. There is One "unto whom all hearts are open." He will bring to light the hidden things of darkness; and he will "judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ." The character which is formed on Christian principles is, above all things, sincere: falsehood is hated as being unworthy of an upright mind, an injustice to our fellow-creatures, and a mockery of the omniscient God. A Christian remembers that God seeketh "truth in the inward parts." An Israelite indeed is one "in whom is no guile." It is an apostolic prayer, "that ye may be sincere and without offence till the day of Christ."

LIFE OF AGESILAUS.

B. C. 395.

1. ARCHIDAMUS, who reigned over the Spartans with great honour, left two children, Agis, the son of Lampido, and Agesilaus, who was much younger, the son of Eupolia, the daughter of Melesippus. As the kingdom descended by law to Agis, Agesilaus seemed destined to live in privacy, and he was trained in the ordinary Spartan discipline, which by its strictness teaches children to obey. It was thus his singular experience to learn submission before he was called to command; and to his royal spirit he added more than the other kings of Sparta, the popular and familiar manners which he acquired by education.

2. While he was in one of the classes into which the Spartan youths were divided, the modesty of his disposition attracted the friendship of Lysander. Though the boldest and most resolute youth of his age, he is represented by Plutarch as gentle and obedient, influenced by reason rather than by fear, and more moved by reproaches than by dislike to labour. The deformity of a lame leg was covered by his personal gracefulness, as well as by the

cheerfulness with which he bore it, and even made it a matter of playful jesting. It proved still more strongly his love of fame, that he never allowed his defect to keep him from any undertaking, however difficult or toilsome. We cannot now learn his form or features, for during his life he would never allow his likeness to be painted or sculptured; and he strictly forbade any to be made after his death. It is said that he was low in stature, and wanted dignity of appearance; yet his hilarity and urbanity, free from all moroseness of look or tone, rendered him more agreeable than the most handsome men, even to his old age. At the death of Agis, Lysander, whose power in Sparta was increased by his victories over the Athenians, advanced Agesilaus to the throne, alleging that Leotychides was not the son of Agis. Many of the Spartans heartily promoted this object, and attached themselves to Agesilaus because of his reputation, and because he had been educated in the same institutions as themselves. Now there was at Sparta a soothsayer named Diopathes, believed to be a very wise and learned man in all matters relating to the gods, who had in his possession some ancient tablets from which he showed that it was unlawful for a lame man to reign in Sparta. But Lysander answered, that if the Spartans received this oracle, they should take it as a warning against Leotychides, for if they had a lame king that would not be offensive to the gods; but if they had one who was illegitimate, and an alien from the race of Hercules, this would make the kingdom itself lame. Thus Agesilaus was proclaimed king, and likewise inherited the property of Agis, Leotychides being declared illegitimate. To gain the maternal relations of Agis, who were poor, though honourable men, he gave up to them one-half of the inheritance.

3. As Xenophon relates that Agesilaus obtained great authority by obeying the laws of his country, insomuch that he did whatsoever he chose, the seeming contradiction is explained in this way,—the chief power of Sparta was in the hands of the Ephori and the elders, the former being chosen annually, and the latter enjoying their honour for life. This institution was founded by Lycurgus, with the object of placing a check on the license of the kings. It thus came to pass that former kings had received, along

with their office, an hereditary dissension with these magistrates. But Agesilaus pursued a different course; instead of contending with them, he made a point of treating them with the utmost deference, and always obtained their sanction for what he did. When summoned by them, he hastened to appear. If they came into his presence as he sat on the throne administering justice, he rose. When any of them were admitted to the senate, he sent him a present of a robe and of an ox. By thus appearing to venerate the authority of these magistrates, Agesilaus was secretly increasing his own strength, and enlarging the regal power.

4. He so conducted himself towards the rest of the Spartans, that his mode of dealing with enemies was better than his mode of treating friends. He would not hurt an enemy unjustly; but he supported his friends even in doing wrong. He was not ashamed to honour enemies when they acted virtuously, but he was not able to correct the faults of his friends: on the contrary, it was his boast that he could not go too far in bearing them out in whatever they might do. He gained men's hearts by being the first to compassionate the misfortunes of his enemies, and to afford them the best assistance in his power when they applied to him. The Ephori were so jealous of the influence which Agesilaus acquired, by such means, that they fined him for drawing to himself citizens who ought to be the common friends of the state.

5. When Agesilaus ascended the throne of Sparta, intelligence was brought that the Persian king was preparing to drive out the Spartans from the dominion of the sea, with a large fleet. Lysander, who was anxious to return to Asia for the purpose of aiding his friends there, many of whom had been banished or put to death by the people for the outrages they had committed as governors of cities, persuaded Agesilaus to anticipate the preparations of the Persian, by removing the seat of war as far as possible from Greece, and transporting all his forces into Asia. He wrote at the same time to his friends in Asia, desiring them to send deputies to Sparta, urging that Agesilaus might be appointed to the command. When the deputies were heard in public assembly, Agesilaus undertook the war, requiring only thirty Spartans to accompany

him as a council, two thousand emancipated Helotes, and six thousand allied troops. By the prompt assistance of Lysander, these levies were granted by the Spartans. They dismissed Agesilaus, with the thirty councillors. Among these councillors Lysander had the chief place, not only because of his authority, but also because of his close connection with Agesilaus, who felt that he owed more to Lysander for obtaining for him this military appointment, than for securing his elevation to the throne.

6. On arriving at Ephesus, Agesilaus could not brook the honours which were given to Lysander. His gates were crowded by all parties, as though Agesilaus was to have only the name, and the legal appearance of authority, while the real power and direction of affairs were in the hands of Lysander. None of the Grecian generals in Asia had gained so high a reputation as Lysander, by the benefits he conferred on his friends, and the injuries he inflicted on his enemies. All this was still fresh in the memories of men; and when they contrasted the simple and condescending manners of Agesilaus, with the sternness and imperious brevity and force of Lysander's orders, they submitted entirely to the latter. The other counsellors complained that they were treated as the followers of Lysander, rather than as the advisers of the king. The king himself, though not naturally envious, was nevertheless too ambitious to allow the glory of his own actions to be ascribed to Lysander; he therefore began to thwart Lysander's counsels, and to repudiate all his projects. He then proceeded to disappoint all who made use of Lysander's name in their applications to himself. He gave judgments in favour of those who were prosecuted by Lysander; while those on whose behalf he interfered seldom escaped without being fined. All this being done, not casually, but on system, Lysander soon perceived the cause; and he advised his friends to seek the protection of those who had more influence than he had with the king. But Agesilaus, seeing that Lysander was thus attempting to make him the object of universal hatred, determined to mortify Lysander, by appointing him the superintendent of the distributors of food, and saying aloud, in the hearing of many persons, "Now, let them go and pay their court to my head butcher." Lysander felt the insult, and said to

Agesilaus, "You know well, Agesilaus, how to take down your friends." Agesilaus replied, "I know those who wish to be greater than myself:" to which Lysander answered, "But you have, perhaps, said that which I would not have done. However, appoint me to some place where I can serve you without exciting jealousy." Agesilaus then sent Lysander to the Hellespont, where he brought over to the cause of Agesilaus a Persian named Spithridates, in the province of Pharnabazus, with a large supply of money, and two hundred cavalry.

7. Though Lysander kept up appearances, the wound his pride had received still rankled in his heart; and he meditated a scheme for dethroning both the royal families —for the Spartans had two kings—and throwing open that dignity to all the citizens. It is very likely that he would have stirred up great commotions, if he had not been cut off during an expedition to Bœotia. Thus ambitious spirits in a commonwealth, by passing beyond proper bounds, do much more harm than good. If Lysander was violent, as indeed he was, because he was more ambitious than became him, Agesilaus was yet ignorant of a method of correcting the fault of such a man. They were both guilty of the same weakness; for the one could not acknowledge the authority of his superior, and the other could not tolerate the imprudence of his friend.

8. At the beginning, Tissaphernes entered into a treaty with Agesilaus, of whom he was afraid; according to which treaty, the Greek cities in Asia were to be freed from the dominion of Persia: but soon after, thinking himself strong enough, he prepared for war. Agesilaus was not sorry for this: he formed high expectations of this expedition. He was mortified that Xenophon had led ten thousand soldiers to the sea, and had beaten the Persian king as often as he chose; while he, though commanding the Spartans, who ruled both sea and land, had done nothing to secure for himself a lasting fame among the Greeks. To punish the perjury of Tissaphernes, by a stratagem, he pretended that he was about to march his army into Caria; but as soon as the Barbarian had gathered his forces together, in that direction, he invaded Phrygia. There he took many cities, and carried away immense spoils.

9. Agesilaus found himself deficient in cavalry: the sacrifices were also inauspicious. He therefore returned to Ephesus, to recruit his army. He ordered that such rich men as held back from this service should each supply a horse, and a substitute for himself. Many of them complied with this order. Thus, in a short time, Agesilaus was surrounded with a large and strong body of horse, instead of a rabble of foot-soldiers; for such as abhorred the camp hired those who loved it, and as many as were unwilling to serve in the cavalry, sent those who were willing, in their stead. At one time, when his prisoners, who were spoiled of their garments, were brought to sale, there were many buyers of the clothes, but they only ridiculed their white and delicate bodies, as worthless. Agesilaus standing by, said, "These are the men with whom, those the things for which, you fight."

10. At the time for the following campaign, Agesilaus made public his intention of marching to Lydia. Plutarch represents him as doing this, not for the purpose of again deceiving Tissaphernes. Tissaphernes, he says, now deceived himself, imagining that the real purpose of Agesilaus was to invade Caria, where he hoped to gain an advantage; for the nature of the country suited the character of his army. When, however, Agesilaus actually pitched his camp before Sardis, Tissaphernes was forced to hasten to its defence, and on his arrival he cut off numbers of the people of Agesilaus, who were scattered in plundering parties up and down the country. Agesilaus, believing that the infantry of Tissaphernes could not yet have arrived, while he had all his own forces with him, lost no time in coming to a battle: mingling his light-armed infantry with his cavalry, he sent them to the charge, while he brought up the heavy-armed infantry. The Barbarians were instantly put to flight; the Greeks followed them, took possession of their tents, and put many of them to the sword. This battle was of the greatest consequence, as it not only gave the Greeks the opportunity of fearlessly pillaging the country of the Persian king, but also of witnessing the punishment of Tissaphernes, a wicked man, and their most implacable enemy; for the king immediately sent Tithraustes to behead Tissaphernes, and to offer large sums to Agesilaus

on condition of his returning home. To this proposal Agesilaus replied, that the Spartan state must determine the question of peace; but, for his own part, he would rather enrich his soldiers than himself; and the Greeks held it to be more honourable to bring home not the gifts but the spoils of their enemies; still, to gratify Tithraustes for punishing the common enemy of Greece, he removed into Phrygia, receiving from him thirty talents to defray the charges of that journey.

11. On this expedition, Agesilaus received from the Spartan magistrates an order to take the command of a fleet, in addition to that of the army. Agesilaus was the only person whom the Spartans raised to so great an honour. He was, beyond controversy, the most illustrious man of his age, as Theophrastus testifies. He had, however, this fault; he appointed Peisander to the command of the fleet, to gratify his wife who was Peisander's sister, instead of consulting the public good by appointing one of maturer age and greater experience.

12. Agesilaus moved his army into the province of Pharnabazus, where he lived in plenty and amassed great riches. Passing from thence to Paphlagonia, he formed an alliance with Cotys, the king of that country, who had longed to enjoy the friendship of one whom he greatly admired. Spithridates deserted Pharnabazus to join Agesilaus, and became the constant companion of all his journeys and expeditions. Spithridates had a beautiful son, to whom Agesilaus became warmly attached; and also a lovely daughter, whom he obliged him to give in marriage to Cotys. From Cotys he accepted a million of soldiers, and went back to Phrygia and desolated the province of Pharnabazus, who, instead of waiting for him, or looking after the state of his garrisons, shifted his camp, with his most valuable possessions, from place to place, for the purpose of avoiding him. In all his movements, Pharnabazus was followed by Spithridates, who, with the help of Herippidas the Spartan, drove him from his camp, and took possession of all his riches. But Herippidas was so keen in searching the baggage, and making the Barbarians give up everything, that Spithridates was disgusted, and hastily departed, with his Paphlagonians, to Sardis. This is said to have hurt Agesilaus more than any other event during the war.

The loss of so energetic a friend as Spithridates, and no small military force, was embittered by the shame he felt for the sordid illiberality which had provoked him, a disgrace from which it had been his ambition to keep his country free. He had, likewise, private reasons of attachment to the family of Spithridates.

13. In a conference which Pharnabazus desired to have with Agesilaus, and which was held through the mediation of Apollophanes of Cyzicum, their common friend, Agesilaus was the first to reach the appointed place; and, as he waited for Pharnabazus, he threw himself down on the long grass in the shade. For Pharnabazus soft furs, of differently coloured hues, were spread out; but as soon as he saw how Agesilaus was lying, he was ashamed, and followed his example, though he was clothed in a vest of the most delicate hue and texture. When they had exchanged salutations, Pharnabazus did not fail to complain of the unjust return the Spartans had made for the many and great services which he had rendered them in their war with the Athenians. Agesilaus saw that the Spartans who were with him were perplexed, and held down their heads in shame, because they felt the truth of the reproach. But Agesilaus said, "When we were at peace with the king of Persia, we treated his friends as ours; but, Pharnabazus, now that we are become his enemies, our treatment of them is the reverse. So long as we see you his willing vassal, we are right in injuring him through you: but from the day in which you prefer the friendship of the Greeks to the slavery of Persia, you may regard this phalanx, these weapons, and these ships, all of us, as sureties for your possessions, and for your liberty, without which nothing is honourable or desirable to mortals." Then Pharnabazus declared his mind: "If the king should appoint another general in my place, I will join you; but while he intrusts me with the command, I will omit no opportunity of repelling and vexing you on his behalf." Agesilaus was delighted with these words, grasped his right hand, and said, as he arose, "How I wish, Pharnabazus, that you, with such sentiments, were our friend, rather than our enemy." Pharnabazus and his friends retired; but his son, lingering behind, ran to Agesilaus, smiling, and said, "Agesilaus, I claim you as my friend;"

giving him a javelin which he held in his hand. Agesilaus accepted the gift; and, struck with the appearance and intelligence of the boy, looked around on his attendants, to see if any of them had a suitable gift to present to this graceful and noble youth: and observing the elegant trappings of the horse of Adæus, his secretary, he ordered them to be taken off, and given to him. Nor did he afterwards forget him: for when this young Persian was driven from home by the injustice of his brothers, and took refuge in Peloponnesus, Agesilaus cherished him with much affection.

14. However upright Agesilaus was in other respects, he thought that strict justice was an idle pretext for a man's refusal to serve his friends. An epistle, ascribed to him, addressed Hidrieus the Carian thus:—"If Nicias has committed no crime, absolve him; if he is guilty, absolve him for my sake: but, guilty or not, absolve him." Such was Agesilaus usually to his friends: sometimes, indeed, when utility demanded it, he accommodated himself to the exigency of the time, as he showed, when, in the hurry of removing his camp, he left behind him a friend who was sick, and who called out to him with entreaties as he departed: he turned and said,—"How hard it is to be both compassionate and prudent!"

15. Agesilaus had now spent two years in Asia, and the praise of his temperance, candour, and moderation were on the lips of all men. When on a journey, he lodged by himself in the most sacred temples; and those affairs wherein men wish for as much privacy as possible he professed to transact in the presence of the gods. Of the thousands of soldiers, scarcely one could be seen who slept on a meaner bed than Agesilaus. So inured was he to the extremes of heat and cold, that he alone seemed able to bear the changes of every climate. It was a spectacle to gladden all the Greek inhabitants of Asia, when proud, arrogant, and luxurious generals and prefects venerated a man in a coarse cloak, and arranged and turned themselves at one of his concise and laconic speeches.

16. Agesilaus saw Asia moved and ready for revolt from Persia; and having put all the cities into good order without bloodshed or banishment, he resolved on transferring the war from the Grecian sea, to contend with the king for the life and peace of the dwellers in Susa and Ecba-

tana, and to deprive him of the leisure which he employed in stirring up wars among the Greeks, by corrupting their public orators: but while he was thus purposing, he received a message from the Ephori, saying that Sparta was involved in a serious war, and ordering him to return home for the service of his country. No act of Agesilaus was more worthy of him than his prompt obedience to this order. When Hannibal was broken by misfortune, and driven from Italy, it was with great reluctance that he obeyed the call of the Carthaginians to defend them. Alexander only laughed at the conflict between Antipater and Agis, saying,—"It appears, my friend, that while we have been conquering Darius here, they have had *a battle of mice* in Arcadia yonder." In like manner, as soon as the order reached Agesilaus, he left all his prospects of alliances, and wealth, and glory, and returned to Sparta. He said, as he led away his army, that he was driven out of Asia by ten thousand of the king's archers: for the Persian arms were stamped with an archer; and it was by ten thousand of these arms that the orators of Thebes and Athens were bribed to stir up their countrymen to go to war with Sparta.

17. Having crossed the Hellespont, Agesilaus passed over Thrace, without asking the Barbarians' leave. To each people he sent messengers, to ask whether he should march over their country as a friend or as an enemy. All the others received him in a friendly spirit but the Trallians, whom Xerxes is said to have bought with gifts, who demanded from Agesilaus a hundred talents of silver, and a hundred female slaves, as the price of passing through their country. Agesilaus merely said to them, playfully, "But are they here to receive them?" and went on his way, slaughtering all who attempted to prevent him. He sent the same message to the king of Macedon, who answered, that "he would consider." "Let him consider, then," said Agesilaus; "meanwhile, we pursue our march;" and the king, at once fearing and admiring his boldness, asked him to pass through his lands in peace. As the Thessalians were allied with the enemies of Sparta, he laid waste their territories. He sent Xenocles and Scythes to offer friendly terms to Larissa; but the citizens of that place put his ambassadors in prison. His associates thought he

was bound to lay siege to the place; however, Agesilaus, after declaring that he would not lose either of his ambassadors for all Thessaly, recovered them by treaty. Nor perhaps was there anything surprising in this moderation of Agesilaus towards the Greeks; for when he was told that many Greeks had fallen in battle near Corinth, but that the Spartans had lost only a few, he showed no signs of joy or exultation, but sighed, and said, "Alas for Greece! thou hast thyself destroyed as many brave men as would have sufficed to conquer all the Barbarians!"

18. The Pharsalians attacked him; but he routed them with five hundred of his cavalry. He commemorated this victory by a trophy, because he had conquered those who prided themselves in their superior cavalry. Here Agesilaus was met by Diphridas, the Spartan ephor, who directed him to invade Bœotia. It had been his intention to do this afterwards, when his army should be larger; but he had no thought of disputing the order of the magistrates, and said to his companions, "Now the day has come, for which we came from Asia." He sent for two companies of the army encamped near Corinth. The Spartans at home, for the purpose of doing him honour, proclaimed by a herald, that the young men who were willing to go to the help of their king should give in their names. When all gave their names with eagerness, the magistrates selected fifty of the best, and sent them.

19. Passing the Straits of Thermopylæ, and crossing Phocis, which was in alliance with Sparta, Agesilaus had scarcely pitched his camp in the frontiers of Bœotia, on the plain of Chæronea, when the sun was eclipsed. At the same moment, he received intelligence of the death of his lieutenant and brother-in-law, Peisander, in a naval battle with Pharnabazus and Conon, near Cnidos. His private affliction rendered the public loss more distressing to him; but to prevent any discouragement in his army, now going to battle, he ordered those who had arrived from the sea to announce that the Spartans had gained a naval victory; and he crowned himself with flowers at the public sacrifice of thanksgiving for the news, and sent portions of the sacred victims to his friends.

20. In the battle of Chæronea, he placed the Orchomenians in the left wing, and led the right wing him-

self. The Thebans opposed the Orchomenians, and the Argives opposed Agesilaus and his Spartans. Xenophon, who had returned from Asia, and who stood by Agesilaus in this battle, says that no battle was ever so hardly fought. The first shock was not very great; but the Thebans routed the Orchomenians, and Agesilaus, on the other side, routed the Argives. But each party, hearing that its left wing was disordered, hastened to relieve it. At that moment, Agesilaus might have gained an easy and sure victory, if, suffering the Thebans to pass, he had attacked them in the rear; but, in the impatience of his courage and self-confidence, he attacked them in front. They met him with equal courage. A bloody conflict raged in all quarters, especially where Agesilaus was surrounded by the fifty young men sent to him from Sparta. They fought with most fearless spirit, throwing themselves before their king; and though they could not prevent his receiving wounds from spears and swords, that pierced through his armour, they formed a circle round him, and cutting down many of the enemy, and sacrificing not a few of their own lives, they bore him off in safety. The Spartans found it so difficult to overpower the Thebans, that they were obliged to have recourse at last to the plan which they declined at the beginning; they opened their line, to let the Thebans pass. After they had passed, and continued their march in less compact order, the Spartans closed their own line, and pursued them; but they could not put them to flight. The Thebans, still fighting, retreated unconquered to Helicon, boasting that they were equal to the Spartans.

21. Though Agesilaus was suffering from his numerous wounds, he would not go to his tent before he was taken to the army, and saw his dead carried away on their own shields. Many of the enemy had fled to the temple of Minerva, which was at hand: he ordered them all to be spared.

22. On the morning of the following day, Agesilaus wished to try whether the Thebans were in a mind for renewing the battle, and commanded his soldiers to avow themselves as victors, and to raise a trophy and adorn it, playing their most joyful music; but the Thebans, by desiring leave to bury their dead, acknowledged that the

victory was his. He granted them a truce. After this he proceeded to Delphi, where he celebrated the Pythian games, and consecrated to Apollo the tenth of his Asiatic spoils, which was a hundred talents.

23. The return of Agesilaus to Sparta was hailed by the citizens with every demonstration of joy. They admired his simple manners and frugal living: unlike almost all other generals, he had returned from a distant country unchanged in his attachment to the ancient customs of his own city: he loved them as much as those who had never passed the Eurotas. His meals, his baths, his furniture, the ornaments of his armour, the attendants on his wife, were the same. Even the ancient gates of his palace, which were so old that they might have been placed there by Aristodemus seven hundred years before, were allowed to remain. Xenophon says, that his daughter's carriage was not more magnificent than that of any other young lady. His spear was not at all different from others. When he saw many of the citizens priding themselves on training horses for the sacred games, he induced his sister to mount a chariot and contend for the prize in the Olympic games, for the purpose of showing the Greeks that such victories were usually gained, not by the virtues of the brave, but by the expenditure of the rich. He persuaded Xenophon, who greatly admired him and whom he held in the highest esteem, to bring his sons to Sparta, that they might be imbued with the noblest of arts—the art of obeying and of commanding.

24. After Lysander's death, Agesilaus detected a conspiracy raised and headed by that general on his return from Asia. Wishing to expose Lysander's true character, he was about to publish a seditious oration which he had left behind him, written for him by Cleon of Halicarnassus; but one of the senators who read it, fearing the strong impression which it was likely to produce, advised him "not to unbury Lysander, but rather to bury his orations with him." Agesilaus took his advice, and remained quiet. With the conspirators he came to no open breach: he always sent some of them abroad as generals or governors; by this means he detected their treachery and avarice; and when they were brought into trouble, he made friends of his worst enemies by the protection he afforded them.

He subdued, by such means, all opposition to his will. Agesipolis, the other king, the son of an exile, being of tender age, and of a gentle nature, had not yet begun to attend to public business, and Agesilaus could easily mould him to his purpose.

25. Thus powerful at home, Agesilaus led an expedition against Corinth, besieged the city, and took the Long Walls. He drove the Argives, who then held Corinth, from the Isthmus, while they were in the act of celebrating the games, and forced them to leave behind them all the preparations they had made for the festival. The Corinthian exiles in the army of Agesilaus intreated him to preside over the solemnities; he refused this, but remained for the purpose of guarding them in attending to the games themselves. After he withdrew, the Argives renewed the celebration which he had interrupted. Agesilaus remarked, that the Argives had plainly proved their cowardice by not fighting to defend the honour of presiding in the Isthmian games, of which they seemed to think so highly. Agesilaus himself encouraged a moderate degree of attention to performances of that kind. He took part in keeping up the choruses and games of his own country, and in making them attractive by his presence, and by the expense which he bestowed on them; but he pretended not to know anything about many entertainments which he perceived were regarded by others with excessive admiration.

26. Agesilaus was one day met by Callippides, the tragedian, who had a great name among the Greeks. The tragedian saluted the king, and then, with much pompous ostentation, took his place among his attendants, expecting to receive some flattering recognition. At last he said,—"O king, do you not remember me?" The king, looking back on him, said, "Are you not Callippides, the stage-player?" Menecrates, a physician, who, because of his success in curing some desperate diseases, was called Jupiter, used this appellation in the most offensive manner, and even went so far as to adopt it in a letter to the king:—"Menecrates Jupiter, to the king Agesilaus, wisheth happiness." To this the king replied, "The king Agesilaus to Menecrates (wisheth) common sense." As he watched his soldiers carrying away the spoils from the temple of Juno, at Corinth, there came to him ambassadors from

Thebes to treat for peace. Agesilaus hated the Thebans; and thinking this a good opportunity to insult them, he pretended neither to see nor hear them as they addressed him. Before the insulted ambassadors took their leave, he received intelligence of the defeat of one of his battalions by Iphicrates,—such a blow as the Spartans had not suffered for a long time; for many of their heavy-armed infantry were defeated by light-armed troops, and those victorious troops were only mercenaries. Agesilaus hastened to their relief; but learning that he was too late, he returned to the temple of Juno, called back the Thebans, and allowed them to speak to him. They, however, paid back his contempt, made no mention of the peace, but demanded leave to enter Corinth. Agesilaus angrily replied, "If you wish to see your friends elated by success, you shall have safe entrance to them to-morrow." When the morrow came, he took these Thebans with him, laid waste the country, and conducted his army up to the city walls. Then having shown them that the Corinthians dared not come out to defend their country, he dismissed them. Afterwards, he collected all who had escaped from the recent defeat, and returned to Sparta, taking care to pitch his tents after dark, and to strike them before daylight, for the purpose of avoiding the attacks of the Arcadians.

27. To please his Achæan allies, he accompanied them with his army into Acarnania, where he vanquished the Acarnanians, and came off with great plunder. The Achæans would have had him remain in the country until the winter, for the purpose of preventing the sowing of the land, but he told them that he would take quite the contrary part, for the people would be more afraid of war if they had their land covered with crops in the summer. And so it came to pass; for when the next expedition began to move, they made their peace with the Achæans.

28. As Conon and Pharnabazus, sweeping the sea with the Persian fleet, were laying waste the coast of Laconia, and the walls of Athens were rebuilt at the cost of Pharnabazus, the Spartans thought fit to form an alliance with the great king; and they sent Antalcidas to Tiribazus, shamefully and illegally betraying to Persia the Asiatic Greeks, for whom Agesilaus had carried on the war. No

part of this infamy belonged to Agesilaus, since Antalcidas was his enemy, and urged this peace the more because the war had brought so much honour to Agesilaus. Yet, when some one said, "The Spartans are agreeing with the Persians," Agesilaus replied, "Rather, the Persians are agreeing with the Spartans." He went beyond this; for he threatened such of the Greeks as disliked this peace, and compelled them all to comply with the terms of the Persian king, having especially in view the weakening of the Thebans, by exempting Bœotia from their dominion, as he afterwards more fully declared; for when Phœbidas treacherously seized the Theban citadel, at a time when the Thebans and the Spartans were at peace and friendship with each other, and all the Greeks, the Spartans especially, were full of indignation, Agesilaus did not hesitate to defend Phœbidas. He said that they should consider the action itself, whether or not it was for the advantage of Sparta; for if it were so, it was a thing that ought to be done without waiting for orders.

29. In all his discourses, Agesilaus laid it down that justice is the first of all virtues, without which valour is worthless. To those who said it is the pleasure of the great king, he would reply, "How can he be a greater king than I, unless he be more just?" rightly judging that justice was the royal standard of greatness. He refused the private friendship and hospitality which the Persian king proposed in letters to him after the settlement of the peace, alleging that so long as the public amity continued, there would be no need of that which is private. But his actions were not consistent with these opinions. He was often carried away from them by ambition, and by the spirit of contention. In the affair against the Thebans, especially, he not only saved Phœbidas, but induced Sparta to become a partaker in his crime by keeping possession of the citadel, and committing the government to Archias and Leontiades by whose treason Phœbidas had succeeded in his guilty purpose. Hence arose suspicion, that while the crime was perpetrated by Phœbidas, the scheme was devised by Agesilaus himself.

30. The events which followed confirmed this suspicion; for when the Thebans had expelled the Spartan garrison, and recovered the freedom of their city, Agesilaus declared

war against them. The army against Thebes was commanded by Cleombrotus, who succeeded to the throne on the death of Agesipolis; for Agesilaus had attained an age at which the law exempted him from service; and he was ashamed, after fighting with the Phliasians on behalf of exiles, to be seen now defending tyrants against the Thebans. The Athenians sent to Sparta to accuse Sphodrias; but the magistrates had already charged him with a capital offence. Sphodrias, however, had not dared to await his trial, fearing the wrath of his fellow-citizens, who were anxious to free themselves from the appearance of favouring such injustice. Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, had a warm affection for Cleonymus, a son of Sphodrias, and sympathized with him in the affliction in which his father's danger involved him: yet he could not openly help him, because Sphodrias was one of the enemies of Agesilaus. When Cleonymus besought Archidamus, with tears and prayers, to intercede with Agesilaus, whose opposition was more formidable to Sphodrias than that of any other, the young prince followed his father with silent and timid reverence for three or four days. At length, as the day of trial was drawing nigh, he took courage, and told Agesilaus that Cleonymus was a suppliant for his father. Cleonymus was greatly esteemed by the king as a youth of the greatest promise: but he gave no hope to Archidamus now praying to him on behalf of his friend's father. All he said was, that "he would act uprightly, and with honour;" and then went away.

31. Archidamus was now afraid to visit Cleonymus, though he had been accustomed to do so every day; and the friends of Sphodrias began to despair of his safety, until Etymocles, a friend of Agesilaus, explained to them his real opinion: for it happened that, for the sake of his son, Agesilaus freely referred to this trial, expressing his severest condemnation of the action of Sphodrias, but speaking of him as an eminently brave man, and saying that he saw that Sparta had great need of such soldiers. Cleonymus immediately perceived that Archidamus had done his best to save him, and the friends of Sphodrias took heart and rallied round him. Agesilaus was an excessively indulgent father. It is related that he amused his little children by riding on a stick at home; and being surprised in this

exercise by a friend, he begged him not to mention it to any one, until he had children of his own. Sphodrias was acquitted.

32. The Athenians took up arms. Agesilaus was assailed with unmeasured reproaches for stopping the course of justice, and involving Sparta in the charge of a serious crime before all the Greeks, merely to gratify the importunity of a childish passion.

33. Agesilaus saw that his colleague in the kingdom, Cleombrotus, was not disposed to prosecute the war against the Thebans; he therefore dispensed with the privilege which he had lately pleaded, and went himself. After suffering, as well as inflicting, much misery in Bœotia, the allies of Agesilaus complained that this war was not a public but a private quarrel, and that they, numerous as they were, were wearing themselves out without any necessity, year after year, in following a few Spartans. To show their real number Agesilaus, it is said, adopted this plan:—He ordered that all the allies should sit together, promiscuously, on one side, and the Spartans by themselves on the other. He ordered the potters to arise first. When these had arisen, he called on the braziers; then on the carpenters, the masons, and the rest in order, according to their trades. Thus, nearly all the allies arose; but of the Spartans not one,—for they were forbidden to practise any menial art. Agesilaus laughed, and said,—"Do you see, friends, how many more soldiers we have than you?"

34. On his return with his army from Thebes, Agesilaus was going up from the temple of Venus to the senate-hall in the citadel of Megara, when he was seized with violent pains and spasms in his sound leg.* A Syracusan physician opened a vein below the ankle, and thus relieved the pain; but the blood flowed so copiously that he fainted, and was for some time in great danger. At length the physician stopped the bleeding. Agesilaus was removed to Sparta, greatly shattered and unfit for war.

35. The Spartans, meanwhile, met on both land and sea with heavy reverses, of which by far the greatest was at Leuctra, where, for the first time, their army was vanquished by the Thebans. All the Greeks, being anxious for peace,

* One leg was lame.

had sent deputies to Sparta for that purpose, and among these was Epaminondas, a man famed for his learning and wisdom, but who had not then given any proof of his military greatness. Epaminondas, seeing the other deputies succumbing to Agesilaus, was the only one who maintained a dignified freedom of speech. He delivered a speech not for Thebes only, but for all Greece, showing that Sparta had grown great by the war at the expense of all the other states, and that they could not be sure of a lasting peace, unless it were founded on justice and equality. Agesilaus, who saw how acceptable this speech was to the rest, asked Epaminondas if it would be just to free Bœotia from the sovereignty of Thebes? Epaminondas, in his turn, boldly and promptly asked, if Agesilaus thought it would be just to free Laconia from the sovereignty of Sparta? Agesilaus, starting up with anger, required him to say expressly if he would make Bœotia free; to which Epaminondas replied by asking if Agesilaus would make Laconia free? Agesilaus was so enraged that, laying hold of his opportunity, he erased the name of the Thebans from the treaty, and immediately declared war against them. When the other Greeks had signed the treaty, he ordered them to return home to settle what disputes they could in peace, and to decide the rest by war.

36. The Spartan magistrates sent orders to Cleombrotus, then in Phocis, to march his army against the Thebans. They summoned all their allies, who had no liking to the expedition, but were afraid to refuse. Though Protheus, the Spartan, opposed the undertaking, Agesilaus persisted in having the war determined on, hoping that though the other states of Greece were free, yet as the Thebans were excluded from their treaty, an opportunity of punishing them would now be in his hands. A comparison of dates shows that he undertook this war from the impulse of anger, rather than of reason; for the treaty was concluded at Sparta on the 14th of July, and on the 5th of August, twenty days after, the Spartans were defeated by the Thebans at Leuctra. In that battle, king Cleombrotus was slain, and with him fell a thousand of the bravest of the Spartans: among them was Cleonymus, the son of Sphodrias, who was thrice struck down, while fighting, at the feet of the king.

37. The Spartans had not been prepared for such a blow as this; and the Thebans boasted of success such as Greeks had never had against Greeks before: yet the spirit of the vanquished was more admirable than that of their conquerors. Xenophon has said, that the words which escape the lips of good men, even at table or in wine, are worthy of remembrance: much more worthy of remembrance is their constancy in adversity. The Spartans were celebrating one of their festivals, amid a large concourse of strangers, when they received the fatal news from Leuctra. The magistrates, though they perceived at once that the Spartan empire was ruined, would not allow the festal entertainments to be interrupted, but sent, privately, the names of the slain to the houses of their friends. Next morning, when everything was known, the friends of the dead exchanged salutations in the forum, with a cheerful and joyous air: the friends of the survivors remained at home as mourners; or, if business called them abroad, they appeared with every sign of grief and humiliation. Among the matrons, she who expected to embrace her living sons was sorrowful and silent; while those whose sons had perished appeared publicly in the temples, and visited each other, with dignified respect and joy.

38. The Spartans, abandoned by their allies, and expecting that Epaminondas, flushed with victory, would invade them, now called to mind the oracle against their having a king who was lame; and they were greatly troubled by the apprehension that they had brought on themselves the wrath of heaven for despising its warnings. Still such were the virtues and the reputation of Agesilaus, that they had recourse to him, not only as their king, and as their general in war, but as the healer of their differences, and as the arbitrator in all their civil embarrassments. At this time they were in great difficulty respecting those who had fled from the army in the late fatal battle. They were numerous and powerful; and there was some danger that they might stir up an insurrection. According to the laws, such persons not only forfeited all public honours, but were forbidden to intermarry with other families: any man was at liberty to strike any of them; and they were forced to appear half-shaved, and in mean and patched clothing. To inflict so grievous a punishment on so many Spartans, at a

time when the state stood in such need of soldiers, was a matter of grave peril. In this exigency, they invested Agesilaus with absolute authority to determine what they should do. Without adding, curtailing, or altering, a letter of the law, Agesilaus went into the public assembly of the Spartans, and said, "Let the laws be allowed to sleep to-day; and, to-morrow, restore their authority for the future." By these few words, he preserved the state from violating the laws, and saved the citizens from disgrace. To raise these young men from their depression, Agesilaus led them into Arcadia, where he studiously avoided a conflict with the enemy; but, by taking a small town of the Mantinæans, and committing some ravages in the low country, he kept the Spartans from sinking into absolute despair.

39. Not long after, Epaminondas, with his allies, entered Laconia, having not less than forty thousand infantry, besides the light-armed, and the crowds of unarmed that accompanied them for the sake of pillage, amounting, on the whole, to an invading army of seventy thousand. It was the first time for six hundred years that the soil of Lacedæmonia had been trodden by an enemy. Now the Thebans carried fire and desolation to the banks of the Eurotas, and approached the city without resistance; for Agesilaus would not allow the Spartans to attempt to check such a torrent, but planted his troops in the centre of the city, and at the principal points, bearing as he could the taunts of the Thebans, as they called him by name to defend his country from the ills of which he was the sole author. Not less distressing was the tumult within the city; the aged men wandering about in despair, and the women frantic at the sight of the flames, and at the shouts of the invaders. Most of all was he cut to the heart, by the stain upon his own glory. He had succeeded to the government of a great and powerful state, whose grandeur had melted away before him. It had been his boast, that no Spartan woman ever saw the smoke of an enemy's camp. An Athenian had once said to Antalcidas,—"We have often driven you from the Cephissus;" to whom the Spartan replied,—"But we have never had to drive you from the Eurotas;" and to an Argive who said, "Many of your Spartans are buried in the fields of Argos; he replied, "But there are no Argives buried in the fields of Sparta."

But now this same high-minded Spartan was impelled by fear to remove his children secretly to Cythera.

40. When Agesilaus saw the enemy preparing to cross the river, and rush upon the city, he gathered all his forces on the central and most elevated posts. The Eurotas was at that time flowing with more than its ordinary strength, in consequence of the recent snows; and the passage was rendered more difficult to the Thebans from the coldness of the water than from the force of the current. Some one pointed out to Agesilaus, Epaminondas leading his infantry across the cold and rapid stream. He gazed long without turning away his eyes from him, and exclaimed—"What an enterprising man!" It was Epaminondas's ambition to frighten the city, and to raise a trophy there; but, as he could not draw Agesilaus from his position, he returned, and laid waste the neighbouring country.

41. A seditious faction, of long standing in Sparta, formed a body of about two hundred, and occupied Issorium, where the temple of Diana stood,—a post of great strength. The other Spartans were for immediately storming the place; but Agesilaus, apprehending sedition, commanded them to remain still while, wrapped in his cloak, and accompanied by a single servant, he went towards the conspirators, and said aloud to them, "I did not order you to come in a body to this place, or to any other, but to this and that place," pointing to different quarters of the city. They heard him gladly, believing that he was not aware of their plot; and they separated themselves according to his directions. Agesilaus immediately occupied the place with a body of troops, and apprehended about fifteen of the conspirators, who were executed in the night.

42. Not long after, he detected a more serious conspiracy of Spartans, who held meetings every night for the purpose of overturning his government. It was a matter of great difficulty to prosecute these men, in the distracted state of public affairs; yet it was very dangerous to connive at their seditious schemes. Agesilaus, after deliberating with the magistrates, put them to death without trial: a proceeding which had hitherto been unknown in Sparta.

43. Many of the inhabitants of the small towns in Laconia, and of the Helotes, who had been enrolled

in the ranks, excited great consternation by fleeing from Sparta to the enemy; but Agesilaus ordered his servants to go every morning to the quarters of these deserters, and to gather up their arms, that their numbers might not be known.

44. It is universally acknowledged that Sparta owed her escape from total destruction to Agesilaus alone. Laying aside his ambition and his obstinacy, he aimed simply at the safety of the state. It was not in his power to raise Sparta to her former glory; for, as in a healthy body, which has been accustomed to a careful and exact mode of living, one great fault brought ruin on this city; and that not without reason; for their institutions were adapted to secure leisure and concord among themselves; but when they gave way to the desire of conquests, which Lycurgus regarded as in no degree necessary to the happiness of a state, they were overthrown.

45. The great age of Agesilaus now prevented his going to the wars; but his son Archidamus, having received help from the tyrant of Sicily, defeated the Arcadians in the battle called, The battle without tears, because without the loss of one man he routed the enemy with great slaughter. This victory remarkably displayed the weakness to which Sparta had been reduced. Up to that time they had regarded the defeat of their enemies as so much a matter of course, that the only sacrifice they offered on such occasions was a cock; and there was no glorying among the soldiers, nor exultation among the people. Even after the battle of Mantinæa, which Thucydides has described, the magistrates rewarded the bearer of the news by merely sending him a portion of meat from the public banquet. But they could not contain themselves on the return of Archidamus from his victory in Arcadia; he was met by his father, and the magistrates in procession, with tears of joy; old men and women crowded to the banks of the river, stretching out their hands to heaven, and praised the gods, as if Sparta had now wiped away her stains, and appeared before their eyes in all their ancient lustre; for, until that day, the men were so ashamed of their failure, that they could not bear to meet the glances of their wives. Thus, when Epaminondas restored Messene, and the ancient inhabitants flowed thither from all quarters, the

Spartans dared not venture to oppose him; though they were indignant with Agesilaus, that after enjoying the possession of a country not less in extent than Laconia, and by far the richest soil in Greece, they had lost it under his reign. For this reason, Agesilaus would not accept the peace which the Thebans offered: and by refusing to acknowledge, in form, that they possessed the land which they held in fact, he not only failed to recover what he contended for, but nearly lost Sparta itself: for when, afterwards, the Mantinæans went over from the Thebans to the Spartans, Epaminondas, learning that Agesilaus was marching towards Mantinæa, departed, unknown to the Spartans, from thence to Tegea, and proceeded by a different road to Sparta, which had been left without defence. Agesilaus, however, was apprized of his design in time to send intelligence to the citizens by a horseman; and soon after, he was there himself with his army.

46. When the Thebans crossed the Eurotas, and attacked the city, Agesilaus exerted himself in a manner little consistent with his years; for he saw that he must now have recourse, not as before, to cautious and safe measures, but to desperate daring. By such unusual efforts he wrested Sparta from the hands of Epaminondas, erected a trophy, and showed the women and children how the Spartans repaid their country for the training she had given them. Among the foremost was Archidamus, who with wonderful alacrity flew from the place with a small band of followers, repulsing the enemy in the streets. Isadus, the son of Phœbidas, presented a spectacle not less wonderful to his fellow-citizens than to their enemies. In the flower of his youth, and of a noble figure, he rushed from his house, as he was anointing his limbs, without armour or clothing, having in one hand a spear, and in the other a sword. Fighting his way into the midst of the combatants, he cut down all before him, without receiving a single wound. It is said that the magistrates honoured him with a crown for his bravery, but that they fined him a thousand drachma for fighting without armour.

47. A few days after the rescue of Sparta, the second battle of Mantinæa was fought. There Epaminondas, having broken the advanced line of the Spartans, was eagerly pursuing them, when one of them, Anticrates,

turned round, and pierced him with his sword. The deed of Anticrates, which delivered the Spartans from their most dreaded enemy, was honoured with great distinctions and rewards both for himself and his posterity.

48. After the death of Epaminondas, the Greeks made peace with Sparta. Agesilaus moved that the Messenians should be excluded from the confederacy, under the pretence that they had no city; and when the other confederates admitted them, and received their oath, the Spartans abandoned the confederacy, and carried on the war alone, in the hope of receiving for themselves the Messenian territory. Thus Agesilaus proved himself to be a headstrong man, by his strenuous efforts to prolong a war in which he was obliged to beg money from his friends, to borrow from strangers, or extort from the citizens, at a time when he might have relieved himself from all such difficulties; and all this for the sake of the revenues of Messenia, after losing so many cities, and so wide an empire over sea and land.

49. It was still more disgraceful to him to give his services to Tachos, the Egyptian general. Men thought it unworthy of him who was reckoned the first of Greeks, and who had filled the world with his fame, to sell his talents, name, and glory for the money of a Barbarian rebel. Agesilaus, however, was not swayed by such opinions. He thought any public service less dishonourable to him than lengthening out a useless life, till death overtook him, at home: he therefore spent the money which Tachos sent him in hiring troops, and equipping a large fleet; and accompanied, as formerly, by thirty Spartans as his counsellors, he set sail.

50. His arrival in Egypt made a great stir among the great officers of the kingdom, who came to welcome him with due honours. The expectations raised by his name and reputation among the rest of the Egyptians was so high that they came in crowds to see him; but when they saw no splendour of attendance, but an old man of low stature and shrivelled aspect, stretched along the grass near the shore, in a rough and worn-out cloak, they were inclined to amuse themselves at his expense, repeating the fable—"The mountain in labour has brought forth a mouse." They wondered still more at his want of taste;

for when they offered him the gifts of hospitality, he accepted the coarser viands, but rejected all the delicacies; and when they pressed him to take them, he ordered them to be given to the Helotes. He admired the chaplets of papyrus for their simplicity; and, at his departure, he begged and received some of the papyrus from the king.

51. Contrary to the expectations of Agesilaus, he was not appointed to the supreme command, but only to that of the hired troops. Charias, the Athenian, commanded the fleet, but Tachos reserved the supreme authority for himself. Agesilaus was mortified at these arrangements, and still further by the arrogance and vanity of the Egyptian, whom he accompanied in a voyage to Phœnicia, during which he lowered his dignity, and repressed his natural pride, by implicit obedience to his commands, restraining himself, until an occasion offered itself for his relief, in the revolt of Nectanabis, a kinsman of Tachos, who was proclaimed king by the Egyptians.

52. Nectanabis sent ambassadors to Agesilaus and to Charias, offering them great rewards if they would join him. Tachos, hearing of this, entreated them not to leave him. Charias endeavoured, by consulting Agesilaus, and softening his resentment, to retain him in the service of Tachos. Agesilaus said to him,—"It is easy for you, Charias, who have come hither of your own accord, to follow your own judgment; but I have been sent by my country as a general to the Egyptians; I should therefore do wrong in fighting against those to whom I am sent as an ally, without orders from my country." Having thus spoken, he sent trusty persons to Sparta, to accuse Tachos, and to support Nectanabis. Both the Egyptian princes sent ambassadors to the Spartans, the one appealing to them as already their friend and ally, and the other offering himself as one who would be more prompt and more zealous in their service. When the ambassadors had heard the Egyptians, they answered, publicly, that they confided the whole matter to Agesilaus; but they wrote to Agesilaus, ordering him to do what was best for Sparta. Agesilaus went over with his mercenaries from Tachos to Nectanabis, using the good of his country as a pretext for this absurd and disgraceful conduct; for when this flimsy

veil is drawn aside, the most correct name for what he did is *treachery*. But the Spartans, assigning the highest place among the virtues to reasons of state, neither learned nor acknowledged any other virtue than that which they thought would be for the interests of Sparta.

53. Thus deserted by the army he had hired, Tachos took to flight. There soon arose at Mendes another prince, who was proclaimed king, and who marched against Nectanabis, at the head of a hundred thousand soldiers. Nectanabis wished to encourage Agesilaus by saying,—"These men are numerous indeed, but they are only a base and undisciplined rabble." Agesilaus answered,—"I fear not their number, but their ignorance and inexperience; for the arts of war avail only against those who, suspecting danger, are on their guard, and may be deluded by superior tactics; whereas they who are so stupid as to know nothing, and imagine nothing, offer no point to him who would take them by surprise, just as one who stands still offers no advantage to an experienced wrestler." Not long after, the Mendesian king sent ambassadors to Agesilaus. Nectanabis began to be alarmed; and, as soon as Agesilaus advised him to fight at once, and not prolong the war with men who, though inexperienced in war, were so numerous that they might surround him with entrenchments, and cut off his supplies, his fears and suspicions increased, and he retired to a city which was surrounded with strong and spacious walls. Agesilaus was indignant at his want of confidence in him; but, as he was alike ashamed of again changing his party, or of returning home without achieving anything, he followed him to his walled city.

54. The enemies began their entrenchments round the city; and Nectanabis, fearing a siege, changed his mind, and resolved to give them battle. The Greeks urged this strongly, as the neighbourhood was badly supplied with food. Agesilaus opposed it, and, by so doing, he brought upon himself the reproaches of the Egyptians, which were more bitter than ever, and they denounced him as a traitor to the king: but he bore their reproaches with the greatest calmness, as he was intent on a stratagem, which he was waiting to put into practice. When the enemies had digged their trenches round the city, till both ends nearly met, Agesilaus ordered the Greeks to arms; and going to

Nectanabis, he said to him—"Now, young man, is the time to save yourself, which I have not mentioned before it arrived, lest I should prevent it. The enemies themselves have provided for our safety with their own hands, by digging so deep a trench: the part which is finished prevents their acting against us, and the space which remains affords us the advantage of meeting them on equal terms. Come, then, show yourself a brave man; follow in our course, and save yourself and your army; for the enemy's front cannot stand against us, and their trench protects us from the rest." Nectanabis admired the skill of Agesilaus; and, throwing himself into the midst of the Greeks, he rushed forth and easily routed all who tried to oppose him.

55. Having gained the confidence of Nectanabis, Agesilaus practised another stratagem. By sometimes fleeing, and tempting the enemy to follow, and at other times moving from place to place, as if for the purpose of attack, he pushed them to a mound, having a ditch filled with water on each side. Having them thus hemmed in, he occupied the greater part of the mound with his infantry, his front line being in equal number with that of the enemy; and as they had no means of escape, they were soon killed or dispersed.

56. The affairs of Nectanabis were now in a safe and prosperous state. He showed Agesilaus every mark of friendship and confidence, and entreated him to remain with him throughout the winter. But Agesilaus was in haste to return to Sparta, now engaged in war at home; knowing that she was greatly in want of money, and burdened with the expense of foreign troops. Nectanabis, therefore, dismissed him with many honours and rewards, besides two hundred and thirty talents of silver to assist the Spartans in carrying on their war. Agesilaus was overtaken on his voyage by a winter storm, which drove him to a desert place on the African coast, called the Haven of Menelaus. There he died, at the age of eighty-four. He had reigned in Sparta forty-one years. For more than thirty years he had enjoyed the highest reputation among the Greeks. He had been regarded as the general and king of nearly the whole country, until the battle of Leuctra. It was the custom of the Spartans to bury their dead in the countries

where they fell, but to bring home the bodies of their kings. The Spartans who accompanied Agesilaus had not honey wherewith to embalm him; they covered his remains with wax, and carried them to Sparta. He was succeeded by his son, Archidamus; and the crown continued in the family to Agis, the fifth from Agesilaus, who was killed by Leonidas, for attempting to revive the ancient institutions of Lycurgus.

57. There were some features of the character of Agesilaus, and some parts of his conduct, which a regard for truth and justice requires us to condemn. His severe treatment of Lysander was not consistent with the deep obligations under which that friend of his youth had placed him by securing his accession to the throne, and his command of the army. His hatred of the Thebans was irrational and obstinate, involving him in heavy crimes, and his country in deplorable miseries. His desertion of the Egyptian prince, whose money he received for supporting him, stamps his memory with indelible disgrace.

58. The implacable hatred of any person or country is sure to blind the judgment and mislead the conduct. It is a depraved passion. There is scarcely any one sin more frequently and earnestly denounced by our Saviour and his inspired ambassadors. Malice cannot dwell in the penitent and humbled mind. He who owes all his peace and his hopes of future happiness to pardoning mercy, and undeserved benignity, must feel that he is bound to imitate the grace by which he is saved, and to forgive his fellow-men, "as God for Christ's sake has forgiven him." It is one of the many proofs of the Divinity of our religion that it continually teaches this lesson, and not only teaches, but inclines the naturally proud and revengeful heart of man to practise it.

59. No excuse can be made for the want of faithfulness to our engagements. If men engage to do that which they ought not to do, that engagement is a sin, and it must be abandoned: but, having undertaken a service, which is right in itself, it is dishonourable and wicked to forsake it, merely because, by so doing, we may hope to gain some advantage either for ourselves or others. We are to take the consequences of what we have rightly promised, whether they be pleasing or painful. How dismal are the prospects

of the treacherous! They must meet the scorn of men, and the contempt of angels. And if, in the service of man, such conduct is so atrocious, what must it be in the service of God? Here, above all, let us abide firmly, and continue "faithful unto death!" Let no lure of pleasure, ease, or gain, tempt us to "draw back." Let us suffer the bitterest mortifications, and endure the heaviest trials, in the path of constancy and perseverance, rather than buy a temporary relief at the cost of endless remorse, and final ruin! A day is coming which shall declare all things. Then, the most secret motives of every heart will be scrutinized and laid bare. No human honours can protect any man from that. No excuses will then avail. Nothing but truth, integrity, and faithfulness, both to God and to men, will stand that awful test. How solemn!—how fearful! The heart shrinks from such a prospect. But the believer in Christ is not afraid. His sins are pardoned; and it is one of the proofs of his faith in his Saviour, that he follows in his steps. None other refuge have we. None other do we need. Therefore, let us flee "for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before us." Such a hope, while it allays our dread, will, at the same time, purify our hearts. It will drive from our bosoms the demon of revenge. It will animate us with a spirit of which the royal Spartan had no idea. Our memory will then be embalmed in the hearts of men.

LIFE OF PELOPIDAS.

B. C. 368.

1. PELOPIDAS, son of Hippoclus, belonged, like Epaminondas, to one of the most illustrious families of Thebes. Nursed in wealth, and, while young, the sole heir of a rich and flourishing house, he showed himself to be the master and not the slave of his riches by administering to the wants of the worthy poor. The Thebans, in general, gratefully received his benefits; but he could never induce Epaminondas to accept them. Pelopidas found it easier to imitate,

than to relieve, the poverty of Epaminondas; he followed his example in the modesty of his habits, and the frugality of his living; and, ashamed to spend more upon himself than on the poorest of his fellow-citizens, he gave himself to labour, and cultivated the greatest simplicity and plainness, even when engaged in the most honourable public employments. As for Epaminondas, poverty was his inheritance; but he rendered the familiar burden lighter by the meditations of philosophy, and by simplicity of living.

2. Pelopidas married into a great family, and had numerous children; yet he lessened his property by giving up his thoughts and his time to the service of his country. One day his friends reproached him for neglecting his money, which they said was a necessary thing. "True," he answered, "it is very necessary for Nicodemus there"—pointing to a lame and blind man of that name. Pelopidas and Epaminondas were equally well-disposed; but Pelopidas delighted in exercising his body, Epaminondas in cultivating his mind: the one was usually to be found in the wrestling-ground, or in the chase; the other in private study, or in conversation with philosophers. It was their highest fame that their friendship remained unbroken by all the changes of war and government. While Aristeides and Themistocles, Cimon and Pericles, Nicias and Alcibiades, warred more against each other than against their common enemies, these two Thebans had such affection for each other, that they deserved to be called companions and brothers, both in the command of armies and in the government of the republic. In all their actions, they sought not their own private glory, nor wealth, which are always followed by envy, the mother of strifes and quarrels; but, each regarding the success of the other as his own, they animated one another in raising, by their administration, the power and prosperity of their country.

3. Most authors date the friendship of Pelopidas and Epaminondas from the time when the Thebans, in alliance with the Spartans, sent succours to their allies in the expedition against Mantinæa. In that battle, they were fighting against the Arcadians, when the Spartan wing, to which they belonged, gave way: Pelopidas and Epaminondas joined their shields together, and resisted every assailant, till Pelopidas fell wounded on a heap of the slain. Epami-

nondas, though he believed his friend was dead, resolved to die rather than leave him in the hands of the enemy; fought bravely, was wounded in the breast, and in the arm; and he was about to sink in despair, when Agesipolis, king of the Spartans, brought up the other wing, and saved them both.

4. After this battle, the Spartans still treated the Thebans outwardly as friends; but they were jealous of their power, and they hated the party of Ismenias and Androcleides, to which Pelopidas belonged, on account of their strong attachment to the cause of popular liberty. The disposition of the Spartans was no secret to the leaders of the opposite party in Thebes—Archias, Leontiades, and Philip, men of great wealth and ambition. They proposed to Phœbidas, the Spartan general, when passing with his troops through Thebes, to take forcible possession of the Cadmeia, or Theban citadel; and, having driven out the popular party, to use the power of Sparta in placing the city under the government of the nobles. Phœbidas yielded to their persuasions. He executed the plan, while the Cadmeia was occupied by the women who were celebrating the festival of Ceres. Ismenias was carried to Sparta, and put to death. Pelopidas, Pherenicus, Androcleides, and many others, took flight, and were condemned to exile. Epaminondas remained quietly in Thebes, despised on account of his philosophy, and neglected because of his poverty and apparent weakness.

5. The news of this affair reaching Sparta, Phœbidas was deprived of his command, and fined a hundred thousand *drachmas*; but the Spartan garrison was still retained at Thebes. It was matter of universal astonishment to the Greeks, that the Spartans should sanction the work for which they punished the author. The Thebans, deprived of their ancient government, and enslaved by Archias and Leontiades, saw no hope of deliverance, so long as they were without power to wrest from Sparta the empire of the land and sea.

6. Leontiades learned that the exiles were received with honourable welcome at Athens. He sent unknown assassins to destroy them. Androcleides perished; but the rest escaped. Then letters from Sparta came to the Athenians, forbidding them to receive or aid the Theban exiles, and

ordering them to expel them as the declared enemies of Greece. But the Athenians were a humane people: they were also under obligations to the Thebans for the encouragement they had received from them in establishing the popular government of Athens. They refused to lift a hand against these exiles, who now found refuge in their city.

7. Though Pelopidas was, at that time, one of the youngest of their number, he addressed each of them separately; and having brought them together, he said, "It is neither pious nor just to look with calmness on our captive country, nor, as if content with having saved our own lives, to be always paying court to the orators who sway the Athenian people; we ought to risk everything in the greatest of all causes: let us take for our model the boldness and patriotism of Thrasybulus; that as he left Thebes to destroy the tyrants of Athens, so we may leave Athens to regain the liberties of Thebes." These words had the effect which he intended. The exiles communicated their resolution to their friends in Thebes, by whom it was warmly embraced. Charon, one of the principal citizens, promised them the use of his house. Phyllidas procured the situation of secretary to Archias and Philip, who were polemarchs. Epaminondas spent much of his time in watching the young Thebans in their exercises, ordering them always to wrestle with the Spartans; and when he saw them proud of throwing their antagonist, he taunted them, saying—"You ought rather to be ashamed of being the voluntary slaves of those over whom you have so great an advantage."

8. The day was fixed for carrying their designs into effect. It was proposed that Pherenicus and the rest should remain at Thriasium—a village near Mount Cithæron,—while a few of the youngest of the party should venture into Thebes; and if they should fall, the others were pledged to take charge of their parents and their children. Pelopidas offered himself first for this service; then Mellon; after him Damocleides and Theopompus—in all twelve, of the first families in Thebes, bound by the ties of friendship, and rivals only in the course of honour. Leaving their companions in Thriasium, they sent a courier before them to Charon, and went forward, in the dress of

hunters, with their dogs and poles. Charon, true to his promise, made his house ready for them.

9. Among the friends of the exiles was a man of the name of Hyppothenidas, a lover of his country, and willing with all his heart to rescue the exiles, but wanting in the boldness and firmness called for by the greatness of the occasion, and its attendant perils. Alarmed at the smallness of the force with which the Spartan power was to be overturned, he became giddy from the crowd of difficulties and obstacles that rushed upon his thoughts, and retiring silently to his house, he dispatched a friend to Mellon and Pelopidas, praying them to defer their enterprise, and go back to Athens, till a fairer opportunity should arise. The name of the messenger was Chlidon. He went home, led out his horse, desiring his wife to bring him the bridle. His wife, not being able to find the bridle, said that she had lent it to a neighbour. He flew into a rage, and cursed his wife. She, in her turn, uttered the most frightful imprecations, and prayed the gods that his journey might be a miserable one for him, and for those who sent him. Having lost great part of the day in this quarrel, and looking on the whole as exceedingly inauspicious, he changed his mind about the journey, and went off in another direction. So narrowly did this enterprise escape being ruined in its very commencement. In the evening, Pelopidas and his associates, clothed as peasants, entered Thebes by different gates. It was the beginning of winter; the piercing wind and the snow kept men in their houses; but the friends of the conspirators, forty-eight in number, were ready to receive them, and to conduct them to the house of Charon.

10. Phyllidas, secretary of the polemarchs, was in the plot. Some time before he had promised a supper, and the society of some of the most beautiful women in the city, to Archias and his companions, in order that they might be weakened by their debauch, when they should fall into the hands of the conspirators. While they were enjoying their wine, they received a vague report that the exiles were concealed in the city. Phyllidas did what he could to give another turn to the conversation, but Archias sent an officer to summon Charon immediately into his presence. The night was far advanced. Pelopidas and his companions had already put

on their armour, and taken their swords. Suddenly they heard a knocking at the door. When Charon found that he was sent for, they all feared that their secret was betrayed, and that they would be lost without having accomplished anything worthy of their courage; still they agreed that Charon should obey the summons, and appear before the governors with the fearlessness of a man who had nothing to conceal. Charon was a man of great intrepidity in dangers which threatened himself; but—alarmed for his friends, and fearing that he would be suspected of treachery if so many brave citizens whom he had received into his house should perish—before he departed, he placed his only son in the hands of Pelopidas, saying to him, "If you discover that I have betrayed you, treat this child as an enemy, and avenge on him the perfidy of his father." The grief and courage of the afflicted father touched the hearts of his guests; they declared themselves mortified that he could think of any of them suspecting him; and they conjured him not to leave his child with them, but to place him beyond the reach of danger, that he might live to be the avenger of his country. Charon would not take away his child: "for," he said, "what life, or what deliverance could be more glorious for him than an honourable death with his father and his friends?" He then prayed to the gods, embraced each of the exiles, and went his way.

11. When Charon reached the house of Phyllidas, with tranquil looks, Archias and Phyllidas met him on the threshold, and said to him, "Charon, what are these people who, we are told, have arrived, and are concealed by some of our citizens?" For a moment Charon was stunned; but, being asked, "Who are the people that have come, and by whom have they been received?" he saw that Archias had no certain information; and he said to him,—"Be on your guard against being disturbed in your pleasures by a false alarm: I will not fail to inquire into the matter, and hold myself prepared; for there may be something that ought not to be neglected." Phyllidas praised Charon for his prudence; and leading Archias back into the festal-chamber, he prolonged the entertainment by exciting the expectation of the arrival of the women whom he had promised to introduce. Charon returned to his friends, whom he found prepared to sacrifice their lives in accomplishing their

purpose. To Pelopidas he related what had happened; to the rest he pretended that Archias had conversed on quite different subjects.

12. This first storm had scarcely passed away, when it was followed by another. Archias, the pontiff of Athens, had written to his namesake and friend at Thebes, giving him a detailed account of the whole plot. The bearer of this letter was brought immediately to Archias, already overcome with wine, and on handing him the letter, said to him, "Sir, he who wrote this, entreats you to read it forthwith, for it is of great importance." Archias smiled: "Business to-morrow," he said; and placing the letter beneath his cushion, renewed his conversation with Phyllidas. The patriots, seizing this favourable opportunity, divided themselves into two parties; one party, headed by Pelopidas and Damocleides, went to Leontiades and Hypates, who lived near each other. The second party, led by Charon and Mellon, proceeding against Archias and Philip, covered their armour with female apparel, and concealed their features by wreaths of pine and poplar. The entrance of the women, as it seemed, was greeted with clamorous welcome: they looked round the room, drew their swords, slew Archias and Philip, together with such of the company as Phyllidas could not restrain from attempting to defend the polemarchs. Pelopidas had a more arduous undertaking: for Leontiades, against whom he went, was a sober man, and of great spirit. When they reached his house, the door was closed and fastened. Leontiades was in bed: they knocked at the door, and for a long time received no answer. At length the door was unfastened by a slave. They instantly broke in, knocking down the slave, and rushed to the chamber of Leontiades. Leontiades, awakened by their approach, left his bed, and seized his sword. By the light of his lamp, which he had forgotten to extinguish, he had a clear view of the assailants. By the first stroke he laid Cephisodorus dead; but being obstructed by the fallen body, he had to maintain a hard fight with Pelopidas, who, at last, slew him. The remainder of the band proceeded to the house of Hypates. Hypates escaped to a neighbour's house; but they followed him and killed him.

13. Having accomplished their purpose, Pelopidas and his friends returned to Mellon. They sent messengers to

all the exiles still at Athens. They called on the Thebans to assert their liberty, and armed all that came to them from the trophies in the porticoes, and from the shops in the armouries. Epaminondas and Gorgidas soon joined them, with a large number of young men and some of the most wealthy elders. The whole city was in confusion: the streets were crowded: the light of torches gleamed from every house. The people did not meet in regular assembly; confounded and distracted with uncertainty, they longed impatiently for the day. Even the Spartan officers in the garrison, who had fifteen hundred men under their command, and many adherents in the city, were so alarmed by the horses, lights, and tumults, that they remained inactive in the citadel.

14. By the dawn of day, the armed exiles had arrived from Athens. The public assembly of the Thebans was convened. Pelopidas and his associates were then presented by Epaminondas and Gorgidas, surrounded by the priests bearing the sacred fillets, and calling on the people to arise on behalf of their country, and their religion. The people received them as their Liberators, with loud shouts and clapping of hands. Pelopidas was appointed governor of Bœotia. The new governor, with Mellon and Charon, blockaded the Cadmeia, and drove out the garrison before help could come from Sparta. They succeeded, just in time; for the Spartans had proceeded no further than Megara, in their return home, when they met Cleombrotus coming to Thebes with a powerful army. Two of the officers who had capitulated were punished by their fellow-citizens with death, and the third was fined so heavily, that, being unable to pay, he banished himself to Peloponnesus.

15. The exploit of Pelopidas was called by all the Greeks, "the sister of the action of Thrasybulus." The two actions were indeed perfectly alike in the bravery of the men who undertook them; in the dangers they encountered; in the battles they fought; and in the success with which they were crowned. It would be hard to find another instance in which so small a body of men had attacked so great a power, and by their boldness wrought such a deliverance for their country. The pride of Sparta was broken by the work of that one night, in which Pelopidas, without taking any fortress, entered, with eleven

others, into a private dwelling, and—to use a metaphor to express no more than the truth—burst the Spartan chain which appeared to be indissoluble.

16. When the Athenians learned, with alarm, that the Spartan army was in Bœotia, they renounced their promised alliance with the Thebans, and punished their adherents in Athens with fines, imprisonment, banishment, or death. The affairs of Thebes were in a bad condition, without any prospect of relief. Pelopidas, however, hit upon an expedient for embroiling the Athenians with the Spartans. Sphodrias a brave but rash and ambitious Spartan, had been left at Thespiæ for the purpose of receiving and defending such of the Bœotians as might revolt from Thebes. To this man Pelopidas and Gorgidas sent a large sum of money, and with well-seasoned flatteries, they told him that "it became him to attempt something great; that he might easily fall on the Athenians, and take the Piræus while they were unprepared; that nothing would be so gratifying to the Spartans as to see themselves masters of Athens; and that the Thebans, irritated against the Athenians for deserting them in their extremity, would not give them any succour." Sphodrias swallowed this ingenious bait. Before night, he advanced as far as Eleusis: but at that place, his soldiers repented of the project; and he retraced his steps to Thespiæ, having provoked the Athenians to a long and heavy war with Sparta: for, on discovering his design, the Athenians renewed their alliance with the Thebans, gave them all the help they could, and sent out a large fleet to stir up and protect as many of the Greeks as they could persuade to throw off the authority of Sparta.

17. The Thebans themselves, though they had no set battles with the Spartans, were yet so frequently engaged in irregular conflicts with them, that their courage was raised, and both their minds and their bodies were hardened for more arduous service. It was this that led Antalcidas to say to Agesilaus, when he returned to Sparta wounded by the Thebans, "You are well paid for teaching the Thebans the art of war against their will." It was not, however, Agesilaus who taught the Thebans, but their own commanders, who cautiously led them, like young hounds, against the enemy, and,

having given them a taste of victory, brought them off in safety. This training was principally received from Pelopidas; for, from the day in which he obtained a military command, he was always either captain of the Sacred Band, or governor of Bœotia. The Spartans were defeated at Platæa; at Thespiæ, where Phœbidas, who had taken the Cadmeia at Thebes, was killed; and at Tanagra, where Pelopidas slew their commander. These occasional successes elevated the spirit of the Thebans, though they did not entirely extinguish the ardour of the Spartans. But the battle of Tegyra, which was the prelude to the great battle of Leuctra, raised the reputation of Pelopidas to the highest pitch, by leaving his companions in arms no pretence for sharing his honours, and his enemies no excuse for their defeat.

18. Orchomenus, one of the largest towns in Bœotia, had received within its walls a Spartan garrison. Pelopidas, watching his opportunity to take the place, was told one day that the garrison had gone to Locris: he immediately went with the Sacred Band, and a large body of horse, expecting to take the town with ease, in the absence of the Spartans. But as he approached the town, he found that fresh troops were coming from Sparta to relieve the garrison; he, therefore, led his army back by Tegyra, that being the only road by which he could pass along the side of the mountain; for the whole plain was overspread with the waters of the Melus. On their way, they met the Spartans returning from Locris. As soon as they were seen coming out of the defiles, some one ran with haste to Pelopidas, saying,—"We are all fallen into the hands of the enemy!"—"Why not they into ours?" said Pelopidas, ordering his cavalry to take the lead, and forming up the Sacred Band of three hundred in close order of battle, expecting that they would be able to break through the enemy however superior in number. The Spartans had two battalions of infantry, probably amounting to eighteen hundred, which pushed boldly against the Thebans. The first shock was on the spot where the respective chiefs were fighting. The Spartan commanders were amongst the first that fell; and those that were nearest to them were either killed, wounded, or put to flight. Their army was so terrified, that they opened a passage for the Thebans; but

Pelopidas, disdaining to avail himself of it, attacked and routed the whole remaining force. He did not pursue them far; because the Orchomenians were at hand, and the new garrison from Sparta had just come up. He contented himself with a retreat from a broken and defeated enemy, which he regarded as a victory. He raised a trophy, despoiled the dead, and returned home exulting; for the Spartans had never been beaten by such inferior numbers, nor even by a force equal to their own. This was the first battle that taught the Greeks that warlike men were not confined to the Eurotas, nor within the region bounded by Babyce and Cnasion; but that wherever young men were ashamed of what was base, and bold in defence of what was right, and less afraid of peril than of dishonour, these were the men most dreadful to their foes. Gorgidas, who raised the Sacred Band of Thebes, had always mingled them with the rest of the infantry, so that they had no opportunity of signalizing their valour; but from the time that Pelopidas brought them close together around his own person, they were never separated; and, on great occasions, he always led them on to the charge.

19. When the Spartans, at peace with all the other Greeks, had declared war against Thebes alone, and Cleombrotus had invaded Bœotia with a thousand horse and ten thousand foot, the Thebans saw themselves in danger of being utterly destroyed; and the whole country was in a state of alarm never known before. Pelopidas, as he left his house to join the army, was accompanied to the door by his wife, who begged him with tears, to take care of himself. "That," he said, "is good advice for the young; but a chief must take care of others." When he reached the army, he found the generals divided in their opinion; he was the first to adopt the advice of Epaminondas, that they should at once meet the enemy in battle. He was not himself one of the generals at that time, but he commanded the Sacred Band; and he had given such proofs of his zeal for the welfare of his country, that he enjoyed the confidence which he deserved.

20. On the day of battle, Epaminondas drew up his left wing, so as to separate the right wing of the Spartans, commanded by Cleombrotus, from the rest of the army; but the latter, seeing his intention, was wheeling round

and extending his wing, with a view to surround Epaminondas. At that moment, Pelopidas, with his Sacred Band, fell on the wing of Cleombrotus, before he could form his order of battle. The speed of this movement baffled the art of the Spartans; and the havoc among them was such as had never been known. Pelopidas, who was only the leader of a small band, shared the glory of the day with Epaminondas, who was the governor of Bœotia, and the commander of all the forces.

21. The year after the battle of Leuctra, Pelopidas and Epaminondas being joint governors of Bœotia, went to the Peloponnesus, and raised Argos, Elis, all Arcadia, and even the greater part of Laconia itself, in rebellion against the Spartan government. It was near the end of the year, and within a few days of the time when their commission expired, and they were bound by law to yield their charge to their successors, on pain of death. The other generals, not liking a campaign in winter, and standing in fear of the law, would have led the army back to Thebes. But Pelopidas, entering into the views of Epaminondas, excited the courage of his fellow-citizens, led them to Sparta and across the Eurotas, taking many of the towns of Lacedæmonia, and wasting their country, at the head of seventy thousand warriors, of whom not a twelfth part were Thebans. The great reputation of Pelopidas and Epaminondas induced their allies, even without any public decree, to range themselves silently beneath their banners. As one may see that passengers in a ship may insult the pilot while the sea is calm, but put all their trust in him when the storm threatens, so the Argives, the Eleans, the Arcadians, were daily disputing and quarrelling with the Thebans, but when danger pressed upon them, they submitted to them, and cheerfully obeyed their orders. In this expedition, they united all the Arcadians in one body; they drove the Spartans from Messenia, recalled the ancient inhabitants, and repeopled Ithome; and they defeated the Athenians, who endeavoured to obstruct their passage as they returned home by Cenchrea. For these actions they were admired and praised throughout all Greece; but the envy of some of their fellow-citizens at home, which rose as their fame increased, was preparing for them a reception very different from that which such

extraordinary services demanded. On their return to Thebes, they were publicly prosecuted as state criminals, because they had disobeyed the law, and retained their command four months beyond the proper time.

22. Pelopidas ran the greater risk, as he was the first brought to trial: but they were both acquitted. Epaminondas bore the trial with the magnanimity of a man who regarded patience, especially in public matters, as the greatest part of his power. But Pelopidas, naturally of a hot spirit, and excited by his friends, determined to avenge himself on his accusers. Menecleidas the rhetorician, was one of those who had joined Pelopidas and Mellon, in the house of Charon. This man, mortified that the Thebans had not rendered to him equal honour with the other conspirators, employed his talents and his malignity in decrying and accusing those who were superior to himself. Even after the acquittal of Pelopidas and Epaminondas, he succeeded in depriving the latter of the government of Bœotia, and in preventing the success of all his undertakings. It was not in his power to lower Pelopidas in the estimation of the people. He displayed his envy of that distinguished man by raising jealousy between him and Charon. He harangued the people on the exploits of Charon, especially a victory which the Thebans had gained under him a short time before the battle of Leuctra. He engaged to celebrate the memory of this battle. An opportunity soon presented itself for accomplishing his purpose. Androcydes, an eminent painter from Cyzicum, had been engaged in painting the picture of some great battle for the Thebans; but the artist had been obliged to flee from the city during the troubles of the war with Sparta, leaving behind him the picture, which was nearly finished. Menecleidas endeavoured to persuade the Thebans to consecrate this picture in a temple, or some other public place, with an inscription, importing that it was that battle of Charon. By this ridiculous proposal, he expected to obscure the glory of Pelopidas and Epaminondas, preferring to their great and numerous engagements a solitary victory, in which the Spartans lost only Gerandas and forty other citizens.

23. Pelopidas opposed the motion of Menecleidas, as against the laws and customs of the Thebans in giving to

one man the honour which was due to their country. He pronounced the highest praises on Charon; but he clearly proved that Menecleidas was an envious and mischievous man, and he often asked the Thebans if they had never done anything noble. The Thebans condemned Menecleidas to a fine so large, that, unable to pay it, he used his utmost exertions to overturn the government.

24. In those days, Alexander, the tyrant of Pheræ, was at open war with many of the states of Thessaly, and secretly preparing the way to reduce the whole country under his power. The Thessalian cities sent ambassadors to Thebes, asking for troops, and a commander. As Epaminondas was engaged in the Peloponnesus, Pelopidas was unwilling that his own talents should be idle, and knowing that where Epaminondas was, there was no need of any other general, he offered himself to go to the help of the Thessalians. He soon became master of Larissa; Alexander was obliged to submit. Pelopidas laboured to work some change in the tyrant's character; but, finding him utterly incorrigible, and that daily complaints were made of his cruelty, licentiousness, and avarice, he threatened to use severe measures. Alexander took alarm, and fled, with his guards. Pelopidas had left the Thessalians in a posture of defence against the tyrant, and at peace among themselves, when he was appealed to, by Alexander of Macedon, and his brother Ptolemy, to settle a quarrel between them. He soon accomplished this object, recalled the exiles of both parties, and took with him Philip, the brother of king Alexander, and thirty other children of the first families of Macedonia, to Thebes, that the Greeks might witness the confidence in their justice and fidelity which their military reputation had acquired. It was this Philip who afterwards made war with the Greeks for the purpose of enslaving them. He was then only a child. He was brought up at Thebes, in the house of Pammenes. He is thought to have been an imitator of Epaminondas; and he may, perhaps, have learned from him the activity and promptitude which formed no small part of the excellence of that illustrious man; but his temperance, his justice, his magnanimity, his clemency, were neither natural to Philip, nor acquired by imitation.

25. The Thessalians complained again of the ambition of Alexander of Pheræ, and Pelopidas and Ismenias were sent to aid them. As they had not expected to be involved in war, they were not accompanied by Theban soldiers, so that they were obliged to employ those of Thessaly, when occasion for military service arose.

26. In Macedonia also, fresh troubles broke out. Ptolemy of Alorus had killed Alexander the king, and had taken possession of his throne. The friends of the deceased called on Pelopidas, who being anxious to arrive before Ptolemy had time to look around him, hastily hired such troops as he could find, and marched against the usurper. When they reached the place, Ptolemy bribed the troops of Pelopidas with money; but dreading the name and character of Pelopidas, he addressed him as a superior, with caresses and entreaties, solemnly promising to keep the kingdom for the brothers of the deceased, professing that he regarded the friends of the Thebans as his friends, and their enemies as his enemies, and giving, as sureties of his fidelity, his son Philoxenus, and fifty other youths, who were brought up with him as companions. Pelopidas sent the hostages to Thebes. But laying to heart the treachery of the mercenaries, he determined to attack them in Pharsalia, whither they had betaken themselves, with the greater part of their families and their goods.

27. Pelopidas marched against Pharsalia with a body of Thessalian troops. On his arrival, the tyrant Alexander of Pherae appeared before him with a strong army. Pelopidas, believing that he had come to vindicate his conduct against the complaints of the Thessalians, went to him, together with Ismenias, knowing that the tyrant was a man destitute of principle, and used to shedding blood; but, relying on Alexander's respect for Thebes, and on his own reputation and dignity, without any apprehension of receiving injury. Alexander, seeing them alone, and without arms, took them both prisoners, and seized Pharsalia for himself. This atrocious deed filled all his subjects with horror and fear; for, after such an instance of daring injustice, they could not expect that he would spare any man, but that, on the contrary, he would be driven to the most violent extremes by the recklessness of desperation.

28. Tidings of what had happened were brought to Thebes. The Thebans instantly dispatched an army into Thessaly; but as Epaminondas was then in disgrace, they appointed other generals. Pelopidas was taken by the tyrant to Pheræ. For a few days, he permitted everybody to see him, thinking that this would humble his pride and abate his courage. But Pelopidas, seeing the people of Pheræ in great consternation, consoled them, and bade them be of good cheer, for the tyrant would soon be punished. And to Alexander he sent word, "that it was impolitic as well as unjust in him to torture and murder so many good citizens, day by day, while he spared him, though he well knew, that as soon as he escaped from his hands, he would be sure to inflict on him the punishment due to his crimes." The tyrant, astounded by such magnanimous assurance, said, "Why is Pelopidas in such haste to die?" When his question was reported to Pelopidas, he sent him this reply:—"That you having become still more the enemy of the gods, may perish the sooner."

29. From that day, Alexander forbade any one to see or speak with Pelopidas. But Thebe his wife, who was the daughter of Jason, the former tyrant of Pheræ, had been told by the guards of the constancy and courage of Pelopidas. Her curiosity was awakened, and she resolved to see him and converse with him. At first, she could not discern the majesty of his bearing under the humiliation of his condition, but judging from his dishevelled hair, his mean apparel, and the wretched treatment he had received, that he suffered much, she began to weep. Pelopidas, not knowing who she was, was surprised; but hearing her named, he spoke to her, addressing her as Jason's daughter, for Jason had been one of his friends. "Pelopidas," said Thebe, "I pity your poor wife." "I pity you much more, Thebe," he answered; "who, though not a prisoner, can bear such a wretch as Alexander." The words touched her to the quick; for it was with difficulty that she could bear the violent cruelty and the horrid vices of her husband. Again and again she visited Pelopidas, speaking freely to him of all the outrages she had suffered, till her heart was embittered and swollen with hatred of Alexander, and with a burning desire of vengeance.

30. The Theban generals did nothing in Thessaly, but were compelled to return with loss and in disgrace. The citizens fined each of them ten thousand drachmas, and sent Epaminondas at the head of an army into Thessaly. The fame of the new commander revived the courage of the Thessalians; and so great was the terror that seized the officers and friends of Alexander, while his subjects were revolting, that there was a universal and joyful expectation that the day of his punishment was at hand. But Epaminondas, more concerned for Pelopidas than for his own glory, was afraid that by pushing matters to extremities, he might provoke the tyrant, in his despair, to turn, like a savage beast, on his prisoner. He therefore carried on the war in a languid manner, keeping Alexander in suspense, without either shocking his pride, or provoking his cruelty. The name and reputation of Epaminondas inspired the heart of Alexander with craven fear. He sent ambassadors to pacify him; but Epaminondas refused to treat with such a monster: he only granted a truce for thirty days; and, having rescued Pelopidas and Ismenias from his hands, he led his army back to Thebes.

31. The Thebans heard that the Spartans and the Athenians had sent ambassadors to Persia, to form alliances with the great king. They likewise determined to send an ambassador, and their choice wisely fell on Pelopidas. He was known and celebrated for his victories in all the provinces through which he passed: so that when he appeared at court, among the satraps, princes, and captains, they were filled with admiration, and said to each other,—"This is the man who took from the Spartans the empire of sea and land, and confined within the Eurotas and Mount Taygetus the proud state which not long before, had shaken the kingdoms of Susa and Ecbatana." Artaxerxes received him with unbounded joy, and lavished on him all the honours he could devise; thus gratifying his own vanity by showing his subjects that the best and greatest of men paid court to him as the most illustrious of kings. When Artaxerxes became familiar with the discourse of Pelopidas, more vigorous than that of the Athenians, and simpler than that of the Spartans, his admiration of him increased; and, according to the manner of kings, he did not conceal from

the other ambassadors how greatly he preferred Pelopidas. He loaded him with rich and superb presents; more than all, he granted his requests, which were, that all the Greeks should be free and independent;—that Messina should be repeopled; and that the Thebans should be regarded as the friends of the king and of his heirs. Having gained the object of his mission, Pelopidas returned; declining all the king's presents, with the exception of a few tokens of his regard. This conduct of Pelopidas aggravated the complaints which were made against the other ambassadors from Greece. The Athenians condemned Timagoras to death for the quantity of presents which he brought home from Persia. The return of Pelopidas was hailed with loud applauses, for he had procured the freedom of the Greeks, and the restoration of Messina.

32. Alexander of Pheræ went back to his old courses. He ruined many cities of Thessaly, and placed garrisons in the towns belonging to the Phthiotæ, to the Achæans, and to the Magnesians. When these cities heard that Pelopidas had come home, they sent deputies to Thebes, imploring help. The Thebans decreed that help should be afforded. An army was soon raised, and Pelopidas was about to depart, when the citizens were thrown into consternation by an eclipse of the sun. Pelopidas did not think it prudent to take the troops away, and to risk the lives of seven thousand citizens, whose hopes were damped by this appearance, which they regarded as an inauspicious sign. He resolved to go to Thessaly, accompanied only by three hundred horse, composed partly of Thebans and partly of foreigners. The soothsayers and the citizens would have detained him, for they believed that the sign in the heavens threatened evil to some exalted person. But Pelopidas was indignant at Alexander's treatment of himself. The conversation of Thebe had led him to expect disturbances in the tyrant's family. But his strongest motive was the desire of showing that, while the Spartans sent generals to Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily, and the Athenians erected a statue to Alexander, the Thebans alone went to war for the deliverance of the oppressed, and to put an end to all violent and unrighteous government. Having assembled his army at Pharsalia, he marched against the tyrant. Alexander, knowing that Pelopidas had but a few Thebans

with him, and that his own infantry was double the number of the Thessalians, went to meet him near the temple of Thetis. Some one told Pelopidas that the tyrant was coming against him with a great army; Pelopidas replied,—"So much the better, for we shall beat the more."

33. Near Cynocephalæ are two high and steep hills, opposite to each other, in the centre of the plain. Both parties sought to occupy these hills with their infantry. While Pelopidas was chasing the cavalry of the enemy on the plain, Alexander had succeeded in securing the hills, and the Thessalian infantry were rapidly falling in the vain attempt to force these positions. Pelopidas instantly recalled his cavalry from the pursuit of the enemy's horse, ordering them to fall on the enemy still engaged on the plain; while seizing his own shield, he ran to succour those of his own men who were fighting on the hills. Pressing through to the front of the battle, he put new life into his men; and the enemy feeling as if a fresh body had come to the assault, and seeing the cavalry approach, was beginning slowly to give way: Pelopidas, looking from one of the heights on the whole of Alexander's army, which, though not actually in flight, was falling into disorder, paused for a while, and cast his eyes round for Alexander. As soon as he perceived him, on the right, rallying his forces, he lost his self-possession, and springing forward beyond his men, challenged the tyrant. Alexander remained, surrounded by his guards. Pelopidas broke through their ranks, and slew great numbers of them; but others, hurling their javelins from a distance, pierced his armour, and dispatched him. The Thessalians rushed down the hills to his rescue, but they found him dead. They then turned all their force upon the enemy, and pursued them with such vigour, that three thousand of them were killed, and their corpses were scattered all along the plain.

34. The Thebans who witnessed the death of Pelopidas lamented him as their father, their deliverer, their master in all noble arts. And no wonder, for the Thessalians and their allies, who had rendered to him the highest public honours usual among men, as soon as they heard of his death, neither laid aside their armour, nor dressed their

wounds, till they had heaped around his body the spoils of the enemy, and mourned over him, cutting off their hair, and the manes of their horses; and returning to their tents, they kindled no fires, and took no refreshment: a gloomy silence spread through the whole army, as if, instead of gaining a victory, they had been defeated. His corpse was honoured in all the towns through which it passed, by processions of the magistrates; the young men, the children, and the priests, bearing trophies and crowns, and armour of gold. The Thessalians begged from the Thebans permission to perform his funeral obsequies. One of them said,—"We ask you, our allies, to bestow on us this favour, which we shall feel to be a high honour, and which will console us in our terrible distress. Grant us this: let us touch his body, wash it, adorn it, bury it; and we shall believe that you acknowledge that our common calamity is heavier for the Thessalians than for the Thebans: you have lost a good commander; but, along with a good commander, we have lost all hope of recovering our freedom: for how can we ask you for another general, since we have not returned Pelopidas?" The Thebans, touched by this appeal indulged their request. Never was funeral more magnificent; at least, in the judgment of those who do not imagine that magnificence consists in ivory, and gold, and purple—for these outward pomps are but the orders of masters whom men dare not disobey, accompanied often with envy of those for whom they are displayed, and hatred of those who extort them, not as proofs of affection and honour, but of barbaric extravagance and ostentation. That the member of a republic, dying far from home, with none to demand or enforce such honours, should be carried to his grave by so many people, through so many cities, vieing with each other, was, in Plutarch's estimation, perfect happiness.

35. Our notions of happiness differ as widely from those of Plutarch, as his notions differed from those which he condemned for their barbarity and grossness. The honours paid to the dead can neither add to the bliss of the happy, nor relieve the miseries of the condemned; yet we should be far from undervaluing the good opinion of men, which is so expressed. It is an encouragement to virtue. The things which are "of good report," "honourable" in the sight of

the wise and good, and conducive to the welfare of our fellow-creatures, will flourish most when they are most esteemed; and the approbation of the wise is a sweet reward. Allowing, as we must in all fairness for the difference between the age of Pelopidas and our own, between the principles and habits of the Thebans and those of English Christians of the present day, there is much in his disposition that is worthy of our study, as suggesting caution; and not a little that might be imitated with great advantage. The passionate character of Pelopidas was to himself a perpetual source of danger, and must often have embittered those evils which a calmer temper might have avoided, or met with the dignity and strength of a well-ordered mind. It was this unbridled impetuosity that, at last, cost him his life, and deprived his country, and its allies, of his invaluable service. Ardour is good only when it is well directed; and it needs always to be chastened by forethought and wisdom.

36. What we admire in Pelopidas is his devotion to the freedom of his fellow-citizens, and of all the Greeks; his abandonment of the ease and pleasure which he could so easily have procured; and the severe simplicity which enabled him to set an example to all who knew him, and to all who read the record of his life. If, without the light of the gospel, such self-denial could be practised, if one human motive had such power in overcoming others, what ought we not to expect from those who are taught by Divine truth, and surrounded with the promised succours of Divine grace?

37. We shall scarcely meet, in these ancient stories, with another such example of exalted friendship as that of Pelopidas and Epaminondas. It reminds us of David and Jonathan. Let kindred minds, and especially young Christians, so love each other that there may be a mutual striving after improvement in all that is holy, and in united consecration to a nobler service than that to which these Greeks sacrificed their lives. Instead of gathering mere amusement, or contenting themselves with a barren, if not dangerous, admiration of cunning in devices, and of bravery in battle, let our readers apply to themselves these lessons of ancient history; and become, not equal only, but superior to the characters which they admire.

Theirs is a higher path. They are called to a nobler ambition. Brighter glory is before them. More animating recollections surround them.

LIFE OF TIMOLEON.

B. C. 343.

1. THE state of affairs in Syracuse, before Timoleon was sent to Sicily was this: Dion, who had expelled Dionysius the tyrant, having soon after been murdered by a traitor, those who had helped him to assert the freedom of Syracuse turned their arms against each other, and the city changed her tyrants every day. She was so fallen as to be almost entirely deserted; and, as for the rest of Sicily, one part was so depopulated by continual wars that the cities and towns were fast disappearing, while the few that remained were chiefly occupied by barbarous hordes from all countries, who took possession of places where they were received with open arms, either because the people were too weak to resent them, or because, in the depth of their misery, the very change of masters appeared to offer a prospect of relief.

2. Dionysius, ten years after his expulsion, had gathered some foreign troops; and, by driving out Misus, who had become master of Syracuse, resumed his former dominion. Wonderful as it had been to see him hurled from so great a kingdom by a power so weak as that of Dion, it was still more wonderful that, in his exile and poverty he found the means of recovering it. The citizens yielded an unwilling obedience to their restored tyrant, now rendered more cruel by misfortunes. The richest and most prominent among them, unwilling to submit to his oppressive government, placed themselves under the protection of Hicetas, king of the Leontines—not that he was really better than the most determined tyrants, but because they had no other resource, because he was originally from Syracuse, and because they knew that he had sufficient force to make war against Dionysius.

3. In this state of affairs, the Carthaginians had invaded

Sicily with a powerful fleet, and had made considerable progress. The alarmed Sicilians resolved to send ambassadors to ask help from the Corinthians. They were, in part, the descendants of a Corinthian colony. On former occasions they had not sought their aid in vain. Above all, they knew that the Corinthians had always declared themselves the friends of liberty, and the enemies of tyrants; and, in most of the wars in which they had successfully engaged, they had fought, not for the plunder, or dominion, but to maintain the liberties of Greece.

4. But Hicetas, who aimed not at the freedom of Syracuse, but the establishment of his own supremacy, entered into a secret treaty with the Carthaginians, while, at the same time, he publicly expressed his approbation of the measures proposed by the Syracusans, and even sent ambassadors of his own along with theirs to Corinth. He had no wish that the Corinthians should send help to the Syracusans; but his hope was that the Corinthians might be compelled, by the distractions of Greece, to refuse the help which the Syracusans were seeking; and, in that case, he expected to avail himself of the power of the Carthaginians either against Dionysius, or against the Syracusans. The event declared what were really his intentions.

5. When the ambassadors from Syracuse arrived at Corinth, the Corinthians, then at peace with all their neighbours, and ever ready to help their own colonies, especially Syracuse, resolved to grant their request; the only question was, whom they should send as their general. The magistrates proposed such as were most eager to signalize themselves. But a man from among the people suddenly arose, and with a loud voice, named Timoleon. Timoleon had not taken an active part in public business; he was not of an age to entertain ambitious hopes, nor of a disposition to undertake so weighty a charge. He was descended from one of the noblest families in Corinth, the son of Timodemus and Demariste. He was ardently devoted to his country. He displayed a remarkable suavity of disposition: but his hatred of tyrants was unbounded. His qualifications as a warrior were seen in the prudence which guided his most youthful actions, and in the freshness of his courage in old age.

6. Timoleon had an elder brother, named Timophanes, altogether unlike himself,—a rash man, ambitious, profligate, and continually listening to the flatteries of foreign soldiers, who were always in attendance on him. He was not without some appearance of valour, for he was in the habit of rushing into the greatest dangers, without any care of his person. By such qualities he had won the esteem of his fellow-citizens, who, relying on his abilities, had often appointed him to the command of their troops. Timoleon rendered him all the service in his power; hiding or palliating his faults, and magnifying any good points which he happened at any time to display. In the battle of the Corinthians with the forces of Argos and Cleone, Timoleon fought on foot, and Timophanes led the cavalry. Timophanes' horse was wounded, and he was thrown to the earth in the midst of the enemy. The greater part of the cavalry were scattered, and those who remained with their dismounted commander could not long maintain their ground against the overwhelming number of their assailants. Timoleon saw his brother in this extremity, ran to him, covered him with his shield, and, after extraordinary efforts in which he received many wounds, he bore him away in safety.

7. Some time after, the Corinthians, fearing that their allies would avail themselves of their weakness, and again take possession of their city, raised a troop of four hundred foreigners, and gave the command to Timophanes. Timophanes, trampling on all the claims of honour and justice, killed many of the principal citizens without any form of trial, and declared himself the lord and tyrant of the people. Timoleon, struck to the heart by his brother's perfidy, looked upon it as the most outrageous affront to himself. He tried to speak to Timophanes to induce him to change his course; and he sought some means of excusing him to his fellow-citizens, or repairing the mischief he had done; but Timophanes refused to listen to him, and treated all his remonstrances with contempt. Stung with grief and disappointment, Timoleon opened his mind to Æschylus, brother-in-law of Timophanes, and to a diviner, named Satyrus or Orthagoras. Having concerted measures with them, in a few days they went together to the house of Timophanes. They joined in conjuring him

to listen to reason, and to lay aside his mad ambition. At first, Timophanes only laughed at them; at length, he broke into a passion of furious indignation. Timoleon retired to a short distance, covered his head, and wept: his companions drew their swords, rushed on Timophanes, and slew him. It becomes us to look on this act of heathen fratricide in the light of the New Testament. The Corinthians admired the patriot; but Christianity condemns the man who sacrifices his brother to public liberty by private assassination.

8. Timoleon was plunged into an abyss of melancholy. Hearing that his mother was in the greatest affliction, uttering the most fearful maledictions against him, he went to console her; but she, unable to bear the sight of the murderer of her son, closed her doors against him. His distress was such that he resolved to starve himself to death. But his friends rallied round him in his despair, and, by entreaties and gentle violence, they induced him to take nourishment; still he determined to pass the remainder of his days in solitude. He abandoned all public business, never came into the city, but wandered in desert places, the victim of dejection and gloom. Even the blinding delusions of heathenism did not, in his case, entirely extinguish the sentiments of the heart, and the power of an accusing conscience. Human actions are not great if they violate the laws of God. Remorse is the wretched fruit of sin, even when success and honour have been gained; but he who does what he knows to be right, and does it from right motives, can brave the displeasure of mankind, and will not seek his reward in their applause.

9. The sorrow of Timoleon, whether it arose from regret for his brother's death, or the shame of appearing before his mother, who would not be comforted, so distressed his mind, that for twenty years he took no part in the public business. On the day when he was named as commander of the expedition to Sicily, all the people testified their joyful approval of the appointment. A distinguished citizen of Corinth, arose, and addressing Timoleon, exhorted him to resume his ancient valour, and to acquit himself with honour in this important charge: "If you conduct yourself well," he said, "we

will believe that you killed a tyrant; if not, we will regard you as the murderer of your brother."

10. While Timoleon was collecting his troops, and preparing to embark, the Corinthians received letters from Hicetas, which plainly revealed his treachery. He had scarcely sent his ambassadors away, when he openly went over to the side of the Carthaginians, and made a treaty with them, by which, after they had expelled Dionysius, Hicetas was to occupy the tyrant's place. But fearing that the Corinthian succours might arrive before he could accomplish this purpose, he wrote to them, saying, that there was now no occasion for their being at the expense and hazard of sending levies; for many reasons, but chiefly, because the Carthaginians, aware of their design, were about to attack them, on their passage, with a strong force; and their delay in sending help had forced him to employ the Carthaginians against Dionysius. This letter was read in the council: the coldest of the Corinthians were fired with resentment against Hicetas; and they hastened the departure of Timoleon with all possible expedition.

11. When the fleet had crossed the sea, and reached the Italian coast, they received intelligence that Hicetas had vanquished Dionysius, and, being master of the greater part of Syracuse, had forced the tyrant to shut himself up in the citadel, where he was besieging him; and that he had sent the Carthaginians to prevent the landing of Timoleon, in order that, after forcing him to withdraw, Hicetas and the Carthaginians might divide all Sicily between them. To carry out this plan, the Carthaginians had sent twenty galleys to Rhegium; and ambassadors from Hicetas were charged to tell Timoleon to come, if he liked, to Hicetas to aid his counsels, and share his triumphs, as the war was finished; but that if he did not send back his fleet to Corinth, the Carthaginians would interrupt their passage to Sicily, and give them battle on the sea. The Corinthians, arrived at Rhegium, found the ambassadors of Hicetas there; and they saw the Carthaginians at anchor, near the harbour. The companions of Timoleon were filled with indignation at the proposals of Hicetas, and at the wretched condition of Sicily. To conquer the Carthaginian fleet seemed impossible, for it was double the force of their own; and, even if this could be done, they saw no prospect

of standing, with so small a body of troops, against the large army of Hicetas, which they had expected to join them. In these difficult circumstances, Timoleon demanded a conference with the ambassadors of Hicetas, and the principal officers of the Carthaginian force. He declared that he was ready to comply with the proposals of Hicetas: for what could he gain by refusing? But, before departing, he wished them to make these proposals, and to receive his answer, in the presence of the Rhegians, who were Greek citizens, and the friends of both parties; for such a proceeding was necessary for their security, since they would fulfil their promises to the Syracusans all the more faithfully when they had the entire people of Rhegium as their witnesses. This was a device of Timoleon, that he might gain time for passing on to Sicily without their being able to prevent him. He laid his scheme in concert with the magistrates of Rhegium, who desired nothing better than to see Sicily in the hands of the Corinthians, and whose greatest dread was having Barbarians for such near neighbours. They summoned a public assembly, and closed the city gates, under the pretence of securing the attendance of all the citizens in this particular business.

12. The time of the assembly was drawn out with long harangues by different speakers, to give the Corinthian ships an opportunity to depart. The Carthaginians had no suspicion; for Timoleon was in their presence, apparently waiting for his turn to speak. When, however, it was privately whispered to him that his fleet was at sea, and his own ship alone waiting for him to embark, he glided softly through the favouring crowd, joined his fleet, and reached Tauromenium in Sicily, where Andromachus, the governor, had long been anxiously looking for him. Being an open enemy of tyrants, Andromachus gave the city to Timoleon, as a depôt for his arms, and ordered the citizens to join the Corinthians in working out the liberty of Sicily.

13. After the departure of Timoleon from Rhegium, when the assembly broke up, the Carthaginians could not repress their rage. The citizens of Rhegium amused themselves with their mortification, saying, "As Phœnicians, you ought not to be so indignant at a trick." However, they lost no time in dispatching an ambassador to Tauro-

menium. This ambassador had a long interview with Andromachus. In a most insulting manner he threatened him, showing his open hand, and turning it down, saying, "If you do not forthwith drive away these Corinthians, you will see your city overthrown as easily as I have turned my hand." Andromachus only laughed at his threat, and, imitating his own action of the hand, said to him, "And if you do not instantly retire, your ship, which is now like this, you shall see like that!"

14. Hicetas, alarmed at the arrival of Timoleon, brought up the greater part of the Carthaginian fleet. The Syracusans then lost all hope of safety, seeing the Carthaginians in possession of the harbour, and Hicetas master of the city, while Dionysius held the citadel, and Timoleon held only the small town of Tauromenium, on the skirts of Sicily, with not more than a thousand men, and but a scanty supply of provisions. Nor, indeed, had the Sicilians much confidence in Timoleon. They had been soured against generals by the cruel extortions of Calippus of Athens, and Pharax, of Sparta, who had both come to them as their deliverers from tyrants, but whose conduct had made them regard the sufferings they had endured from tyrants as a golden felicity compared with their condition in a state of pretended freedom. They looked on the Corinthians as not better than the others: they held them in suspicion, and rejected all their proposals.

15. The inhabitants of Adranum, a small Sicilian city consecrated to Adranus, one of their deities, were divided: part of them had appealed to Hicetas, and others to Timoleon. These generals, both hastening to Adranum, arrived nearly at the same time; Hicetas with five thousand men, and Timoleon with not more than twelve hundred, chiefly from Tauromenium, more than forty miles from Adranum. On the first day's march Timoleon halted at an early hour; and next day made such good speed, that towards evening he learned that Hicetas had but just arrived. Without stopping for refreshment, he urged his officers to lead their men immediately to surprise the Carthaginians, and seizing his shield, he marched at their head with the air of one who was sure of victory. Encouraged by his spirit, the little army boldly followed him, fell on the enemy, routed them, killed three hundred, made three hundred prisoners,

and took possession of their camp. The Adranites opened their gates to Timoleon, relating to him, with superstitious dread, that at the beginning of the battle the doors of their temple had opened of themselves, the spear of their deity had shaken, and the sweat had fallen from his face. This was regarded as a happy presage of further successes. Other cities sent deputies to make submission to Timoleon. Mamercus, the rich and powerful chief of Catana, joined him, and offered every kind of succour. Dionysius himself, seeing that his hopes of resistance were vain, despising Icetes for allowing himself to be so shamefully vanquished, and struck with admiration of Timoleon, sent ambassadors to place himself and the citadel in the hands of the Corinthians.

16. Profiting by this unlooked for success, Timoleon sent Eucleides and Telemachus, Corinthians, to the citadel, followed stealthily, and in small companies, by four hundred men. They took possession of the place, which they found supplied with stores, horses, engines, darts, seventy thousand suits of armour, and two thousand soldiers. Dionysius, taking with him his money, and a few friends, escaped the vigilance of Hicetas, and gave himself up at the camp of Timoleon, who sent him to Corinth. This was only fifty days after Timoleon first landed in Sicily.

17. The Corinthians, encouraged by Timoleon's success, sent him a reinforcement of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse. The large Carthaginian fleet prevented their reaching further than Thurium, on the Italian coast, where they rendered great service to the inhabitants. In the meantime Hicetas was closely besieging the garrison of Timoleon, in the citadel of Syracuse. He hired two foreigners to assassinate Timoleon at Adranum. The assassins, with poniards under their robes, entered the temple of Adranus, as Timoleon was about to offer sacrifice, and they had almost approached his person, when one of them was stabbed to death by a stranger. The stranger fled to an overhanging rock. The surviving assassin laid hold of the altar, and besought pardon of Timoleon, under promise of revealing the plot. While he was making his confession, the stranger was brought down from the rock, crying out that he was only taking vengeance on the murderer of his father, and appealing to those who stood

around for the truth of what he said. The Corinthians gave him ten *minæ*, for unintentionally saving their general's life. The event inspired the Sicilians with reverence towards Timoleon, as one on whom they looked as a favourite and messenger of heaven; and the hopes entertained by the Corinthians were greatly revived by what they saw.

18. Hicetas, repenting of the partial use he had hitherto made of the Carthaginians, while Timoleon was gaining influence in the country, sent to Mago, the Carthaginian general, for his whole force of a hundred and fifty ships, and sixty thousand soldiers. Thus, by the treason of Hicetas, the Sicilians saw their harbour and their city overrun by the Barbarians, who in all their former wars had never been able to force an entrance into Syracuse. They feared that this was the accomplishment of an ancient oracle. The Corinthians, who held the citadel, were reduced to great straits. Their provisions were exhausted. They were harassed, night and day, by the incessant assaults and powerful engines of the enemy; but Timoleon watched every opportunity for affording them relief. He sent them provisions from Catana in fishing-boats, and other light craft, which passed through the fleet of the Carthaginians, when they were scattered by a tempest. Hicetas and Mago, resolving to take the place from which their supplies were sent, went with the choice of their troops to Catana. Leo, the commander of the citadel, observing that, in the absence of their leaders, the besiegers were relaxing their vigilance, made a sudden sally upon them, killed one part, scattered another, and seized the strongest quarter of the city, called Achradina. Finding there a large store of corn and money, he fortified the place, and raised works which joined to the citadel. Hicetas and Mago had nearly reached Catana, when a courier informed them that the Achradina was in the possession of the Corinthians. Troubled at such news they turned back, having lost one place without taking the other.

19. The new forces from Corinth still detained at Thurium by the presence of the Carthaginian fleet, commanded by Hanno, observed that the sea was very rough for several days. They determined, therefore, to push through the country of the Brutians, and gain the shore of

Rhegium, during the continuance of the storm. Hanno, in the meantime, ordered his sailors to put chaplets on their heads, and to adorn their ships with Grecian shields; then, approaching the citadel with loud shouts of triumph and derision, they boasted that they had defeated the Corinthians on their passage. But the Corinthians, already at Rhegium, found that they were not watched; and the wind having fallen, they flung themselves on board such boats as were at hand, and crossed so smooth a sea, that their horses, held by bridles, swam by their side. Timoleon received them with joy. They first seized Messina, and then marched, four thousand strong, to Syracuse. Their arrival filled Mago with alarm, and fears that he was betrayed. His suspicions were increased by another circumstance: in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, the marshes abounded with eels, which the soldiers of both armies amused themselves in catching, in the intervals of battle; thus employed, they fell into conversation on the beauties and conveniences of the situation, when a Corinthian said to some of the Greeks under Hicetas, "How can you, being Greeks, assist the Barbarians in desolating this beautiful country? Do you think that they have brought so numerous an army from the Pillars of Hercules and the Atlantic, to be the mere tools of the ambition of Hicetas? If Hicetas had the good sense which becomes a general, instead of driving away the fathers of his country, and bringing in her most dangerous enemies, he would have joined Timoleon and the Corinthians, and obtained for himself all the honour and power he could reasonably desire." These words soon spread through the camp, and they suggested to Mago a pretext, which he had been seeking, for abandoning his ally. Vain were the expostulations and remonstrances of Hicetas; Mago weighed anchor, and made sail for Africa.

20. On the following day, when Timoleon learned the shameful flight of Mago, and saw the harbour empty, he could not but laugh at his cowardly terrors; and he published through the city that he would give a large reward to any man who could tell him where the Carthaginians had hidden their fleet. Hicetas, however, resolved, at all hazards, to keep the places which he held, which were strongly fortified; and prepared himself for battle. Timoleon divided his troops, so as to attack the city on three sides at

once. The forces of Hicetas were beaten and routed, without one of the Corinthians being killed or wounded. The fame of this exploit filled all Sicily and Italy; and in a few days it was echoed along the shores of Greece: the city of Corinth knew not whether their troops had safely reached Sicily, till they heard at once of their arrival and of their victory.

21. When Syracuse and the citadel were entirely in the power of Timoleon, he remembered the example of Dion, who, having spared the fortress on account of its magnificence, fell a victim to suspicion. On the contrary, Timoleon proclaimed by sound of trumpet, that all the Syracusans who chose might come, with their implements, and destroy the stronghold of tyrants. The citizens hailed the day as the dawn of true freedom, crowded to the work of destruction, razed the citadel and the palaces to the ground, scattered to the winds the fragments of the very tombs of their oppressors, and erected tribunals of justice in their place. But the city was almost without inhabitants: some had perished in seditions and in the wars; others had fled from the yoke of tyrants; the horses pastured in the long grass of the street, while their keepers lay down beside them undisturbed. Most of the other cities had become hunting-grounds for the boar and the wild deer. The dwellers in strong places dreaded to enter towns, which they looked on as the haunts of tyranny. Timoleon and the Syracusans wrote to Corinth for people to occupy the country, and, also to defend it from new wars: for, Mago having killed himself, the Carthaginians, provoked by his misconduct, had crucified his corpse, and were raising a still greater army for the invasion of Sicily early in the spring.

22. The Corinthians, instead of seeking their own aggrandizement, sent heralds to all the sacred games and public assemblies of Greece, proclaiming, "that the Corinthians, having extinguished tyranny in Sicily, and expelled the tyrant, declared the Syracusans and all the people of Sicily free; and they invited all who wished to return to their country and divide the land among them equally by lot." They likewise sent couriers into Asia, and among the islands, where great numbers of the Sicilian fugitives were scattered, urging them to repair without delay to Corinth, where they would find the means of safe conveyance to their own country provided at the

expense of the Corinthians. By these measures the Corinthians gained for themselves great honour. Those who came to Corinth, not being in sufficient numbers, begged that colonists from Corinth and from all Greece might accompany them. Altogether, they amounted to ten thousand; and they found at Syracuse large numbers who had joined Timoleon from Sicily and Italy: in all, there were, according to Athanis the historian, sixty thousand, among whom the lands were divided. The houses were sold by Timoleon, to afford the ancient inhabitants an opportunity of purchasing their own, and to raise a fund for the people, who had been impoverished by the wars; so that the very statues had been judged, condemned, and sold by auction, with the single exception of the statue of Gelon, one of their ancient sovereigns, whose memory was honoured for his victory over Hamilcar and the Carthaginians at Himera.

23. Having restored Syracuse as it were to life, now thronged with new inhabitants from all quarters, Timoleon was bent on wresting the other cities of Sicily from their tyrants. He forced Hicetas to break his alliance with the Carthaginians, to raze his strongholds, and to lead a private life among the Leontines. Leptines, tyrant of Apollonia, and the neighbouring towns and castles, seeing himself likely to be seized, offered to surrender. Timoleon spared his life, but sent him to Corinth; for he thought no triumph was more noble than to exhibit to Greece the tyrants of Sicily living in feebleness and banishment. With the help of Cephalus and Deinarchus, legislators from Corinth, he settled the laws of Syracuse.

24. To keep his mercenary troops employed, and to afford them some advantages, Timoleon sent them with Deinarchus and Demaratus into all those parts of Sicily which were held by the Carthaginians; they drew many cities away from the interest of the enemy, lived in luxury, and raised large supplies of money and stores for carrying on the war. The Carthaginians, however, being resolved to drive the Greeks entirely out of Sicily, sent to Lilybæum an army of seventy thousand men, two hundred war ships, and a thousand transports laden with engines, horses, chariots, and provisions,—a force great enough for their purpose, even if the Sicilians had been all united. Enraged at the wasting of their territories by the Greeks,

they marched against them, under the command of Hasdrubal and Hamilcar. The Syracusans were so terrified by the approach of this vast armament, that, out of thirty thousand, not more than three thousand were bold enough to take arms and follow Timoleon. One thousand of his four thousand mercenaries turned back while on the march, crying out that Timoleon had lost his senses, to meet an army of seventy thousand with no more than six thousand, and that at the distance of eight days' march from Syracuse; leaving them without a retreat if the fleet were forced to flee, and without a grave if they were killed.

25. Timoleon was glad that these cowards had betrayed their fears in time. He led the remainder forward with words of encouragement to the banks of the Crimesus, where he learned that the Carthaginians had encamped. On ascending a small hill from which the enemy might be seen, they met some mules loaded with parsley; the disheartened soldiers imagined that this was an unlucky omen, because it was the custom to wreathe the tombs with parsley; but Timoleon, ordering them to halt, cried out, "Let us cherish hope, for the crowns are presented to us before the combat;" for it was with parsley that the victors in the Isthmian games, near Corinth, were in those days crowned. He crowned himself with a chaplet of parsley; his officers did the same; the example was followed by the whole army. It was the summer season, and the vapours arising from the river hid the camp of the enemy; their presence was only known by the confused noise of men and horses rising up the hill. But by the time the Corinthians had reached the top, and were laying aside their shields for repose, the vapours had rolled off, covering them, but leaving the Carthaginians visible upon the plain below. The river was distinctly seen, and the troops beginning to cross it, in the order of battle. The four-horse chariots led the van, and were followed by ten thousand armed infantry with white shields. The brilliance of their shields and the steady slowness of their march showed these to be the Carthaginians, while the foreign troops advanced with disorder and confusion. Timoleon saw that the river divided the forces of the enemy; he ordered, Demaratus, at the head of his cavalry, to attack the

Carthaginians before they had time to draw themselves up in order, while he himself came down with a body of infantry, composed of the Syracusans and the choice of the mercenaries, to await the result of the movements of his cavalry. Finding that they were hindered by the Carthaginian chariots, he took his shield, and loudly calling on his infantry to follow him, he sent orders to the cavalry to get clear of the chariots, and attack the enemy in flank, whilst his infantry, in compact order, bore down with all their force on the Carthaginians. At first, the Carthaginians firmly stood the shock, as their large shields and strong armour resisted the spears and javelins of their assailants; but when they came to fight hand to hand with their swords, a fearful thunderstorm broke out, the flashes of lightning and the rain and hail beating on the faces of the heavy-armed Carthaginians. They could not hear the orders of their officers; their tunics were soaked with wet; and the swollen river and the hollows of the adjacent ground filled with water confused them and impeded their flight. The Greeks cut down four hundred of their number. Many of the fugitives were drowned in attempting to cross the river; others, fleeing to the hills, were slain. Ten thousand of their number fell, including not fewer than three thousand of the most illustrious citizens of Carthage.

26. The splendour of the spoil discovered the rank of the slain. Crossing the river, the Greeks fell upon the camp with all its riches,—two hundred chariots, a thousand costly breastplates, and ten thousand shields, with large quantities of gold and silver. For three days, the victors were employed in gathering these treasures, and then they raised their trophy. With the news of the victory, Timoleon sent to Corinth the choice of the spoils, ambitious that his native city should be the only city in Greece in which the most beautiful temples were adorned, not with the spoils of Greeks, but of Barbarians, and that their courage and their patriotism might be alike commemorated by the inscription,—"The Corinthians, and Timoleon their general, having delivered the Greeks of Sicily from the Carthaginian yoke, have hung up these arms in their temples, as a grateful offering to the gods."

27. Having gained this great victory, Timoleon returned

to Syracuse, leaving the mercenary troops to complete the pillage of the Carthaginian province. Before the sun set, the thousand who had turned back on the road were banished from the island. By the treachery of the Brutians, they were all put to death.

28. Mamercus of Catana, and Hicetas, jealous of Timoleon's success, or fearing his enmity to tyrants, were still in league with the Carthaginians, and they wrote to them, that they must send a new expedition, if they did not wish to be totally expelled from Sicily. Seventy ships were sent, under the command of Gisco; and as the Carthaginians were convinced of the valour of the Greeks, they now began to employ them as auxiliaries. The first act of this new army, on reaching Messina, was to put to death four hundred foreigners in the service of Timoleon, and soon after, the mercenary forces, headed by Euthymas, were cut off by an ambuscade. Timoleon laid siege to Calauria: Hicetas, taking advantage of his absence, made an inroad on the territories of Syracuse, and carried away considerable booty, and, to insult Timoleon, passed by Calauria on his return. Timoleon offered no obstruction to his progress, but followed him with his light infantry and cavalry. Seeing himself pursued, Hicetas passed the Damyrias, and encamped on the opposite side, relying for safety on the rapidity of the stream, and the steepness of its banks. When the officers of Timoleon reached this difficult passage, they were thrown into temporary disorder, by an emulation among them for the honour of precedence in the march. To allay these jealousies, Timoleon took the rings of the officers, which he wrapped in a fold of his robe, and shook: the first that came out had a trophy as its seal. Without waiting for further lots, the young officers rushed across the river, and by the suddenness with which they came upon the enemy, threw them into utter confusion, stripped them of their arms, and left about a thousand of their number dead upon the field. In a few days, Timoleon took Hicetas, together with his son Eupolemus, and Euthymus, his general of cavalry, at Leontis. They were put to death, as traitors and tyrants. The wife and daughters of Hicetas were condemned to death in the assembly of the citizens of Syracuse; who thus visited

them for the destruction of the family of Dion, their first deliverer, by Hicetas.

29. Mamercus still remained at Catana. Timoleon encountered him near the Abolus. After a long and hard struggle, Mamercus was defeated, and more than two thousand of his men, chiefly Phœnicians sent to him by Gisco, were killed. The Carthaginians now sued for peace. It was granted, on condition that they should keep within the boundary of the river Lycus, that they should give liberty to all who chose to remove with their families and property to Syracuse, and that they should have no communications with the tyrants. By this treaty, Mamercus was driven to despair. He made a vain attempt at flight into Italy, intending to bring the Lucanians against Timoleon; but the crews of the vessels returned to Sicily, and gave up Catana to Timoleon. Mamercus found shelter for a while at the court of Hippo, in Messina. But Timoleon besieged the place, both by land and sea. Hippo, attempting to escape in a vessel, was taken by his own people, who exposed him to the derision of their children, in the theatre, scourged him, and put him to death. Mamercus, at length, gave himself up, on condition that he should be judged by the Syracusans, and that Timoleon would not be his accuser. When brought to trial, he began to deliver an oration which he had prepared; but the assembly were impatient; and seeing no hope of escape, he attempted to kill himself, by running across the theatre, and dashing his head against the steps; but he was taken up alive, and punished as a robber.

30. Timoleon laboured to root out tyranny, and establish peace in Sicily. He found that island in such wretchedness, that it had been abandoned by its inhabitants; but by his exertions he made it so attractive that men of other countries repaired to it, and settled in it as their home. Agrigentum and Gela, two large cities which, after the Athenian war, had been sacked by the Carthaginians, were restored to prosperity. Throughout the country, Timoleon was so revered and esteemed, that no public undertaking was considered by the people as wisely ordered, unless it had the benefit of his counsels and suggestions: they expected from his master-hand the last

finishing touch to all their works. Greece abounded at that time in great men—Timotheus, Agesilaus, Pelopidas, and Epaminondas; which last filled the highest place in Timoleon's esteem. Timoleon sent for his family from Corinth, and lived with them for the most part at a beautiful country seat, which was given him by the grateful people whom he had saved from misery. He never returned to Corinth, nor took any part in the disputes which agitated Greece. Thus he escaped the evils which great commanders usually brought upon themselves by their ambition. It was his happiness to live at Syracuse beholding the fruits of his energy and patriotism, so many cities and so many thousands of men acknowledging him as the author of their freedom and prosperity.

31. Even Timoleon was not without accusers. Laphystius summoned him to answer the charges he had to bring against him, on a given day, and demanded sureties for his appearance. The indignant people rose, and would have hindered the proceeding; but Timoleon appeased the tumult, saying, "that he had exposed himself voluntarily to all kinds of danger, and had gone through all his labours to give to every citizen of Syracuse the benefit of equal laws." At another time he was accused by Demenetus, in the assembly of the people, of many offences while in command of the army. Timoleon's only answer to these calumnies was in these words:—"I thank the gods for hearing my prayers, by permitting me to see the Syracusans at liberty to say what they please."

32. Timoleon excelled all the Greeks of his time in the grandeur of his exploits, and it was his rare felicity to prove his power in overthrowing Barbarian tyrants, without costing his country a tear. In eight years, he had restored Sicily to its own people, free from the bitter miseries which had been so long endured.

33. As he advanced in years, his sight gradually failed him, and at length he became totally blind. It appears that this calamity had befallen many of his family in their old age. During the war with Hippo and Mamercus, while he was encamped at Millæ, a speck was discovered in his eyes, and it was suspected that he would soon lose them. Instead, however, of raising the siege, he persevered until he had subdued the tyrants. On his return

to Syracuse, he obtained leave from the citizens to lay down his command, as he had brought their affairs to as happy a termination as they could have wished. It is not surprising that he should bear the failure of his sight with equanimity; but all must admire the reverence in which he continued to be held by the Syracusans. They paid him frequent visits of respect: they introduced all foreign visitors to him, proud to show that so great a man had sacrificed the glory which his success had won for him in his own country, that he might spend the remainder of his days among the people whom he had saved. His greatest honour was the decree of the Syracusans, that in whatever war they might have, with foreigners, they should take a general from Corinth. So great, too, was their personal respect for Timoleon, that, in all difficult emergencies, they appealed to his judgment. He was brought to the assembly in a chariot. When he appeared, the people rose, received him with long shouts of welcome, submitted their affairs to his decision, and confirmed the decision by their own suffrages. They then attended him to the gates with every show of honour, and after his departure, proceeded to dispatch the business on which they were convened. Thus honoured as a common father, he died at an advanced age.

34. Time was given for the arrival of strangers from all parts before the funeral obsequies were performed. His bier was carried by a band of chosen youths across the public palaces where the place of the tyrants had stood, followed by weeping trains of men and women clothed in white, and crowned with chaplets of flowers. Having placed his remains on the funeral pile, Demetrius, the loudest of their heralds, proclaimed,—"The people of Syracuse decree, that Timoleon of Corinth, son of Timodemus, shall be buried by the public at the cost of two hundred minæ; and, the more to honour his memory, the day of his death shall be celebrated in all future years with music and solemn games: because, having dethroned our tyrants, defeated the Barbarians, and repeopled our deserted cities, he gave to the Sicilians the best laws." His ashes were laid in a magnificent tomb in the centre of the Grand Square. The tomb was afterwards surrounded by beautiful porticoes, and halls for the exercises of their young

men, which were called after his name. For many years, the Sicilians continued to enjoy prosperity in the observance of the laws which Timoleon had established.

35. The character which Plutarch has portrayed in his Life of Timoleon, and which has been followed above, is worthy of admiration. It stands out by itself, in the history of the great men of Greece. Though far from being morally perfect, Timoleon will bear comparison with the most distinguished men of his age and country, and it will be acknowledged that he excels them all in those qualities which were esteemed most valuable, most beneficial, and most likely to be honoured by the greatest number of mankind. His consent to the destruction of the family of Hicetas is condemned by Plutarch; it is a dark stain upon his memory. His murder of his own brother is not condemned by Plutarch; though he blames him for wanting the resolution and strength of mind which would have borne him up against the melancholy reflection that haunted him for twenty years. The crime itself was almost a natural consequence of that peculiar patriotism which all the institutions and habits of the Greeks so strongly fostered. It was a patriotism that, on the one hand, trampled on the rights of foreigners, and, on the other hand, hardened men's hearts against the tenderness and sacredness of domestic ties. The long-continued grief of Timoleon was, probably, occasioned more by remorse, than by any other cause. It is a strong case of the mind being its own judge and its own punisher. So it is that God has made us: "A wounded spirit who can bear?" The first murderer fled from the scene of his crime, with the burden of a dreadful curse upon him. Thus it is with all sin, with every sin, when once the conscience awakes. There can be no peace without, while there is no peace within. But we are taught, when troubled with the consciousness of guilt, and trembling with fear of punishment, that there is One who "was wounded for our transgressions. Through Him, we may find peace with God, having our "hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience." And with the sense of guilt and misery, we lose the thraldom of the evil passion by which we were led astray. The grace of God never brings peace to the conscience, without producing, as its most certain fruit, a practical change of life. What ought to be the life of

those, whom God for Christ's sake forgives? Shall it be said, that they are put to shame by this eminent Corinthian? It was to the citizens of Timoleon's birth-place, nearly four hundred years after his life, that an apostle addressed the noble sentiments and thrilling exhortations of the gospel; and in that city it was that some of the earliest and noblest triumphs of the grace of God over human pride and lust were displayed.

36. How many characters may be formed by Christian principles on a model greatly resembling, yet excelling that of Timoleon. What are devoted Christian missionaries but emancipators of their fellow-men from worse than human tyranny, and from miseries deeper than any that arise from earthly causes? They embody the spirit of the religion of the Redeemer. Happy will it be for every island and continent of the world, when all the redeemed shall act on the grand principle explained by St. Paul to the Corinthians: "The love of Christ constraineth us; because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead: and that He died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto Him which died for them, and rose again. 2 Cor. v. 14, 15.

LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES.

B.C. 310.

1. Demosthenes, the father of the orator, was ranked amongst the best and most honourable men in Athens. Theopompus calls him a sword-cutler, because he had a manufactory in which he employed a great number of slaves in making swords and other weapons. At his death, he left his son, then only seven years old, nearly fifteen talents. His guardians appropriated part of the youth's fortune to their own use; and they were so negligent in managing the remainder that the masters who instructed him were defrauded of their salaries, and he lost the advantages of education which belonged to his rank. His constitu-

tion was so feeble, that his mother would not suffer him to perform the exercises which were usual among the young Athenians; and for the same reason, his teachers did not urge him to apply closely to his studies. His youthful companions derided his delicacy, and called him by the contemptuous name of *Batalus*, effeminate.

2. Demosthenes was excited to the study of eloquence by the following circumstance. Callistratus was to plead the cause of the city of Orissius, in the Athenian assembly. It was a cause that deeply interested the public, from the reputation of the orator, and the importance of the issue. Demosthenes heard that all the teachers intended to be present on the occasion; and he begged of his own teacher that he might be allowed to accompany him; and the teacher having some acquaintance with the officials of the court, prevailed on them to give his young pupil a place where he could hear, without being seen. Callistratus gained his cause, and was universally celebrated. When Demosthenes saw what honours were lavished on the successful orator, he was kindled into emulation; and from that hour abandoned all other studies, and occupations, that he might attain such wondrous power, and take his place among the orators of Athens His first master of eloquence was Isæus, whose oratory commended itself to him in excelling that of other men in its strength and severity. It is said that he studied philosophy under Plato; and that he was secretly furnished by Callias and others of Syracuse with the rhetorical systems of Isocrates, and of Alcidamus.

3. When Demosthenes came of age, he commenced, in his own person, an action against his guardians. The delays which they interposed in the course of the trial rendered it necessary for Demosthenes often to speak in public; and by continual practice, he, at length, after much strenuous exertion, defeated them. Though he received only a small part of his inheritance, he acquired the boldness and confidence in speaking, which strengthened his ambition to take part in the public affairs of the state. As Laomedon, the Orchomenian, who was recommended by the physicians to exercise himself in running, for the cure of some disorder in the spleen, gained such strength by this exercise that he became a distinguished

racer in the sacred games, so Demosthenes, compelled at first to plead for the recovery of his own property, prepared himself to contend for the crown of oratory among the public men of Athens.

4. When he began to harangue the people, he was received with interruptions and derision. His manner was vehement; his style unusual, complicated, and excessively elaborate; his voice was feeble, his utterance indistinct; and his breath was so short, that he was forced to break his sentences in such a manner, that it was equally difficult to hear or to understand him. He retired from the assembly, and wandered about sorrowfully in the Piræus. There he was met by Eunomus, an aged man, who said to him, "You have a manner of speaking like that of Pericles; but you lose yourself for want of courage and exertion: instead of manfully bearing up against the tumults of the assembly, you enfeeble yourself by softness and inactivity." At another time, when he had failed, and was returning home, with his head covered and a heavy heart, he was followed by Satyrus, the comedian. Demosthenes complained to him that he, who was the most laborious of orators, and consumed his strength in preparation, could not please the people, while drunkards, sailors, and ignorant men, were listened to with attention and favour. "That is very true," replied Satyrus; "but I will soon remedy that, if you will recite to me some passages of Euripides or Sophocles." When Demosthenes had done this, Satyrus himself repeated the same passages, but with such appropriate action, and expression of countenance, that Demosthenes could have imagined that they were altogether different. He now perceived how much the dignity and beauty of delivery contribute to the effect of public speaking, and how vain it was to prepare a discourse if the manner of pronouncing it was neglected. He built a cell under ground, for the purpose of exercising himself every day in training his voice and action, where he often remained for two or three months together. He even shaved one side of his head, that he might be unfit to appear in public, however desirous he might feel of going out. Whenever he visited, or received any of his friends, he made their conversation the matter of his oratorical study, and, retiring to his cell, went over the whole busi-

ness in the manner of a public pleader. Whatever speeches he heard he analyzed, and repeated when alone, correcting them according to the suggestions which others had made to him, or he to them, and casting them into a totally different form.

5. The great pains taken by Demosthenes made some persons regard him as a man of plodding industry, rather than as a natural orator. It seemed to be a strong proof of this, that he seldom spoke offhand: even when the people called on him by name to address them, he declined, if he had not prepared himself by previous meditation. Other orators ridiculed him for this. Pytheus said to him, in mockery, "Your arguments smell of the lamp:" to which Demosthenes replied, with bitter sarcasm, "Truly, Pytheus, your lamp and mine throw light on very different occupations!" His want of self-confidence is shown in the fact, that, though Demades often rose to his assistance while speaking, he never did the same for Demades. It might be asked, How came it to pass that Æschines spoke of the boldness of Demosthenes, in speaking, as so admirable? How was it that he stood up alone, to refute Python, the Byzantine, when he poured a torrent of invective against the Athenians? How is it to be accounted for that, when Lamachus, the Myrrhenean, pronounced (at the Olympic games) a eulogy on Alexander and on Philip, in which he loaded the Thebans and Olynthians with reproaches, Demosthenes suddenly arose, and, by facts and arguments, set the obligations of the Greeks to the Thebans and Olynthians in such glowing contrast to the mischiefs which the flatterers of the Macedonians had done to their camp, that he carried the whole assembly with him, and forced the sophist to make his escape? The truth appears to be, that Demosthenes imitated Pericles in his delivery, and, generally, in his resolution not to speak without being prepared: at the same time, he did not follow his model so closely as to refuse the honour of speaking at the moment, when the occasion demanded; but he would not often trust his reputation, as a speaker, to such risks.

6. Demosthenes, in his later years, described the methods he had used to correct his bodily defects. He cured himself of hesitation and indistinctness by pronouncing verses or passages of prose with his mouth full of small stones.

He exercised his voice by uttering long sentences in one breath, as he ran up steep and difficult ascents. He had a large mirror in his house, before which he repeated his discourses. One day a man came to ask him to defend him, and related to him how he had been abused. Demosthenes said to him, "You have not suffered the injuries you describe." Here the man raised his voice and shouted, "I have not suffered the injury, Demosthenes!" "Now," said Demosthenes, "I hear the voice of a suffering and injured man:" so much importance did he attach to the tone and gesture, as testifying to a speaker's truthfulness. His own delivery was highly pleasing to the multitude; but more elegant hearers, such as Demetrius Phalerus, thought it low and mean. When Æsion was asked his opinion of the ancient orators, as compared with those of his own time, he answered, "If you had heard the ancient orators address the people with so much gravity, dignity, and propriety, you would have been filled with admiration; but when you read the orations of Demosthenes, you find them much more laboured and forcible." No one can deny that the written orations of Demosthenes are exceedingly severe. But, in his sudden replies, he made use, likewise, of ridicule. When a thief, whose name was Chalcus, (Brass) taunted Demosthenes with his walking and midnight studies; he turned round on him and said, "I know indeed, it cannot be very agreeable to thee that I should light my lamp; but, Athenians, you need not wonder that robberies are committed, when we have thieves of brass, and walls of clay!"

7. It was during the time of the Sacred War that Demosthenes became prominent in public business. It does not appear that he had acquired much influence at the time when he prepared his oration against Meidias; and this, according to Plutarch, was the reason why he laid aside, for a sum of money, his hatred of that man. He was not of a placable disposition; but when he saw that Meidias was supported by his vast wealth and by powerful friends, as well as by great eloquence, he yielded to those who interceded with him on behalf of Meidias. It is not likely that three thousand *drachmas* would have appeased

him, if he could have hoped to gain the advantage over this formidable enemy.

8. Demosthenes found an extensive field for his exertions in defending the liberty of the Greeks against Philip of Macedon. So well did he acquit himself in this conflict, that he rose, in a short time, to the most splendid fame for eloquence and fearlessness of speech. The Greeks held him in the highest honour. The king of Persia regarded him with reverence. Philip himself looked on him as the greatest of orators. His enemies did not dissemble that they had to deal with a most illustrious opponent: for such was the character given to him by Æschines and Hyperides, in their accusations against him.

9. It is difficult to discover on what grounds it is alleged by Theopompus that Demosthenes was a man of a fickle disposition and unsteady principles. He appears to have adhered, to the end of life, to the same party which he joined at first; and he met death rather than abandon it. Demades, indeed, excused his own change of party by saying, that though he had often said things which were contrary to his present opinions, he had never spoken contrary to the interests of the state. Melanopus, who ordinarily opposed Callicrates, but often took bribes from him, was accustomed to say to the Athenians,—"Callicrates is always my enemy; but, for this time, I am of his opinion; because it is for the good of our country." And Nicodemus, who was at first opposed to Antipater, but afterwards went over to him, said publicly, that "he was not inconsistent, because it was always well to submit to those who had power." But nothing of this kind can be said of Demosthenes: he never faltered, either in word or deed; he maintained the same principles with uniform consistency from first to last.

10. Panætius, the philosopher, refers to the orations of Demosthenes as written for the purpose of urging the truth, that men should choose an honourable course for its own sake; and he adduces his orations for the crown, against Aristocrates, for Immunities, and the Philippics:—in all of which he exhorts the Athenians, not to that which is agreeable, or easy, or expedient; but to sacrifice their interest and their safety to what is honourable and virtuous. If to this high sense of honour which all his

actions proved, and to the generosity and magnanimity which glowed in all his speeches, he had added the qualities of bravery and disinterestedness, he would have had his place, not only among great orators, with Nicocles, Polyeuctus, and Hyperides, but in a still higher rank, with Cimon, Thucydides, and Pericles: for Phocion, though he favoured the less popular party, and leaned towards the Macedonians, yet, because of his valour and his justice, was considered in no respect inferior to Ephialtes, Cimon, or Aristeides. But Demosthenes was not illustrious in arms, nor was he sufficiently fortified against receiving presents. He who was inaccessible to the gold of Philip of Macedonia, was overcome by that of Susa and Ecbatana: however eloquently he might praise the virtues of his ancestors, he did not imitate them. Notwithstanding this, he was the best of the orators of his time; always excepting Phocion. He spoke to the people with more freedom, opposing their desires with greater spirit, and condemning their faults with greater faithfulness. We are told by Theopompus, that the Athenians, on one occasion, desired him to be the public accuser in a particular cause, and showed themselves greatly disconcerted by his refusal. Demosthenes rose up before them, and said, "You shall have me for a counsellor, Athenians, though you may not wish it; but I will not be a calumniator, even when you request me."

11. The conduct of Demosthenes, in the affair of Antiphon, showed little regard for the will of the people. The people had acquitted Antiphon of a heavy crime laid to his charge; but Demosthenes summoned him before the Areopagus, and without caring for the offence that might be taken by the citizens, he convicted him of having promised Philip to burn the arsenal; for which he was condemned to death.

12. Report says that Demosthenes composed the oration pronounced by Apollodorus against the general Timotheus, in which he was proved to have defrauded the treasury; and, also, that he wrote the oration of Apollodorus against Phormio and Stephanus, although the oration of Phormio against Apollodorus was composed by him. This transaction greatly damaged the reputation of Demosthenes; for it was supplying enemies with weapons from the same store.

13. Even while peace continued between Macedon and Greece, the public actions of Demosthenes were uniformly directed to the movements of Philip; he opposed all his measures; he was continually alarming the Athenians, and inflaming them against the advances of that king's ambition. Philip was well aware of this. When Demosthenes went, with nine others, on an embassy to the Macedonian court, Philip listened to them all; but he took the greatest pains in replying to the oration of Demosthenes. He afterwards paid less attention to him than to the rest. Æschines and Philocrates enjoyed the largest share of his favour. For this reason, these two ambassadors, on their return to Athens, were unwearied in their praises of Philip. They said he was eloquent, beautiful, a strong drinker, and a glorious companion at a banquet. Demosthenes could not refrain from turning these praises into reproaches, observing that the first was a quality of a sophist; the second of a woman; the third of a sponge; but none of them were worthy of a king.

14. The affairs of Philip and the Greeks were now ripening for war; Philip could not remain at rest. Demosthenes was continually exciting the Athenians. The first measure taken by Demosthenes was to induce the Athenians to send an expedition to Bœotia, whose tyrants had placed the island under the authority of Philip. His next measure was to send help to the Byzantines and Perinthians, with whom Philip had gone to war; by which means he saved those cities from destruction. After this, he went to the several states of Greece, and succeeded by his eloquence in rousing nearly all of them against Philip. Each state sent its forces; and they united in paying for fifteen thousand foot, and two thousand horse, of foreign troops. Theophrastus says it was on this occasion that the allies were anxious to have the amount of their contributions fixed; but Crobalus, the orator, told them "that war could not be tied down to a stinted supply of food."

15. All Greece was now alive, and intent upon the approaching war. The Eubæans, the Achæans, the Corinthians, the Megaræans, the Leucadians, and the Corcyræans, had taken measures separately for the war. There remained to Demosthenes the greatest labour of all, which was, to induce the Thebans to join them. They

were very near the Athenians. They had great resources and a large army. They were reckoned, at that time, the greatest warriors in Greece. But it was no easy matter to draw them from the interests of Philip, to whom they had been laid under obligations in the recent war. And the difficulty was increased by the petty frays which had often broken out between them and the Athenians.

16. While these difficulties were perplexing the Athenians, Philip had triumphed at Amphissæa, at Elatea, and at Phocis. The Athenians were confounded by these sudden events. At a time when no other man dared ascend the rostrum to address them or make any proposal, and the silence of despair sat on the assembly, Demosthenes stood forth alone. He proposed that they should appeal to the Thebans. After animating the hopes of the Athenians, as he was wont, he went with other ambassadors to Thebes. The Thebans were not at a loss to know what course would be most expedient for them to take, for every one of them was smarting with the wounds of the late war. But the powerful eloquence of Demosthenes, kindling in their hearts a love of honour which broke through every obstacle, carried them away, and they threw from them all the restraints of fear, interest, or favour.

17. Philip was so struck with this wonderful proof of the power of Demosthenes, that he sent ambassadors to Athens to treat for peace. Greece rose to her feet, and awaited the course of events. Not only the Athenian, but the Theban generals held themselves in readiness to follow the directions of Demosthenes, who was equally dear to all, and well deserved the ascendency which they accorded to him. But Divine Providence having, as it seemed, marked this as the last period of Grecian freedom, thwarted all the designs of Demosthenes, and gave many tokens of the approaching ruin.

18. Demosthenes, it is said, had such confidence in the number, valour, and ardour of the troops that panted to engage the enemy, that he paid no attention to the gloomy oracles and prophecies which were reported by the superstitious. He gave the Greeks to understand that the oracles were tampered with by Philip. He reminded the Thebans of their own Epaminondas, and the Athenians of their own Pericles, both of whom had treated the dread of

oracles as the pretext of cowardice, and proceeded according to the counsels of their own judgment.

19. Up to this point Demosthenes acted according to the Athenian ideas of what became a man; but in the field of battle he did nothing worthy of his name, or consistent with his declarations. He was the first to take flight; and he basely left his armour on the ground. After defeating the Greeks at Chæronea, Philip drank to excess, and danced upon the fallen corpses of his enemies, singing the first words of the decree by which Demosthenes had stirred them up to that fatal war. But when he became sober, and reflected on the great dangers which surrounded him, he was struck with horror at the remembrance of that orator, who had forced him to stake his empire and his life on the risks of a few moments.

20. The name of the Athenian orator was carried to the king of Persia. He wrote to his satraps to supply Demosthenes with money, and to pay more regard to him than to any other Greek, as being the only man that could harass the king of Macedon. This was afterwards discovered by Alexander, who found at Sardis some letters written by Demosthenes, and the registers kept by the satraps of the sums which they had furnished for his use.

21. After the disastrous defeat at Chæronea, the Athenian orators opposed to Demosthenes demanded that he should undergo a public trial; but the Athenians, besides acquitting him of the charges brought against him, bestowed upon him new honours, and replaced him at the head of their affairs. When the bones of those who had fallen at Chæronea were brought to Athens to be buried, Demosthenes was chosen to pronounce the funeral eulogy: so far were the Athenians from bearing their defeat with a downcast mind, they raised to the highest distinction the man by whose counsels they had acted, and thus declared that they did not repent of following his advice. Demosthenes spoke the funeral oration; but from this time, until the death of Philip, he prefixed the names of his friends, in turns, to all the decrees which he carried, believing that his own was inauspicious.

22. Philip did not live long after his victory over the Greeks at Chæronea. Demosthenes received secret intelli-

gence of his death. To prepare the Athenians for future daring, he proceeded to the council with a cheerful countenance, as though he had seen a dream which boded something great for Athens. Not long after he had made his appearance, messengers arrived with the news—"The king of Macedon is dead!" The Athenians offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to the gods, and decreed a crown to Pausanias, who had stabbed Philip. Demosthenes showed himself in public, splendidly attired, and crowned with flowers, though it was only seven days after the death of his own daughter.

23. Once more Demosthenes appealed to the states of Greece; and they joined in a second league. The Thebans were supplied with arms by Demosthenes; and they destroyed many of the garrisons left in their city by Philip. The Athenians made ready to join their allies in the war. Demosthenes carried all things in the public assemblies. He addressed letters to the Persian satraps, to excite a war in the east against Alexander, whom he contemptuously called a "boy," and a "jester." But as soon as Alexander had settled his affairs in Macedonia, he marched with his whole army into Bœotia. The fierceness of the Athenians was subdued: Demosthenes was depressed. The Thebans, left to themselves, lost their city; which was destroyed by the conqueror. The Athenians, in their consternation, resolved to send Demosthenes to Alexander; but, when he reached Mount Cithæron, he was seized with dread of Alexander's anger, left the other ambassadors, and returned home. The first thing Alexander did was to send to Athens, demanding the persons of their leading orators. It was on this occasion that Demosthenes repeated to the Athenians the fable of the wolf and the sheep. He added,—"As we see merchants carry with them a small sample, that they may sell their corn, in like manner you, without knowing it, in delivering us up, will betray yourselves." The Athenians held an assembly for consultation on Alexander's demand; and when they knew not what to do for the best, Demades took five talents from each of the orators whom Alexander had demanded, and offered to go alone to the king and intercede with him on their behalf. He succeeded; saved the orators, and reconciled the king to the Athenians. After Alexander's return to

Macedon, the other orators soon rose to commanding influence in Athens; but Demosthenes sunk into neglect. Though he revived for a time, during the campaign of Agis, the king of Sparta; yet, as the Athenians refused to unite with the Spartans, and Agis was slain in a battle with Antipater, he soon fell back into obscurity.

24. It was about this time that the celebrated dispute about the crown was revived. Some years before, Demosthenes had, at his own expense, rebuilt the walls of Athens; and the people had rewarded him with a crown of gold, which was proposed by Ctesiphon. Æschines, who was jealous of his rival's glory, had attacked the decree of Ctesiphon. The trial had commenced, under the archonship of Charondas, soon after the battle of Chæronea, but was not decided until eight years after, during the archonship of Aristophon. It was the most celebrated cause among the Greeks, on account of the high reputation of the orators, and of the independence of the judges; for though the accusers of Demosthenes were powerful men, and were supported by the influence of the Macedonians, the judges voted according to the law, and declared themselves so strongly in favour of Demosthenes, that Æschines had not more than a fifth part of the suffrages. Æschines was so ashamed of this failure, that he immediately left the city, and withdrew to Rhodes in Ionia; where he passed the remainder of his days in teaching rhetoric.

25. Alexander had intrusted the care of his treasures, and the revenues of Babylon, to Harpalus. Harpalus betrayed his trust; and, dreading the wrath of Alexander, who had become terrible even to his choicest friends, he fled from Asia, and came, with a large store of riches, to Athens. At once the orators, hearing of his great wealth, spoke on his behalf to the Athenians, advising them to take him under their protection. Demosthenes alone advised them to send Harpalus away, and not involve themselves in an unnecessary war for his sake. But, only a few days after giving this advice, Demosthenes was present when an account was taken of the possessions of Harpalus. Harpalus observed that Demosthenes looked with much pleasure on the beautiful shape of a royal goblet. He asked him to feel its weight. Demosthenes took the goblet in his hand; and, surprised at the weight of the gold, he asked Harpalus

how much it weighed. "To you," replied Harpalus, "it will weigh twenty talents;" and that night he sent the goblet, with twenty talents, to Demosthenes! for his experience had enabled him to detect the disposition of the man in the expressions of his countenance. Demosthenes did not resist him; but, struck by the present, he attached himself to the interests of Harpalus. The next day he went to the council, carefully wrapped up about the neck. The people called on him to arise and speak;—he indicated by his gestures that he had lost his voice. Some wits exclaimed that the orator had been seized in the night, not with quinsy, but with *gold*. On a following day, when it was universally known that he had accepted presents from Harpalus, Demosthenes would have defended himself before the people; but they refused to hear him, and they banished Harpalus from their city. Demosthenes, himself, proposed a decree that the conduct of the orators in the business of Harpalus should be brought before the Areopagus; and that those who were convicted of receiving bribes should be punished. He was himself the first person condemned: his punishment was a fine of fifty talents, and he was committed to prison in default of payment. Ashamed of his crime, and too weak in body to bear confinement, he found means to escape. He had not gone far from the city when he heard the footsteps of pursuers, and sought a place of concealment; but they called him by his name, and soon came up to him, and begged him to accept some money which they had brought with them, and to be of good cheer. He is said to have broken out into loud lamentation, saying, "How can I bear to be banished from a city where my enemies treat me more kindly than friends would do in any other?" He bore his exile with great weakness, spending his time at Ægina and at Trœzen, and looking back on Attica with tears. His language was unworthy of the public speeches he had delivered. It is said that, as he was departing from the city, he stretched out his hands towards the Acropolis, and said, "Sacred guardian of the city! why shouldest thou delight in three such savage beasts—an owl, a dragon, and the people?" To the youths who visited him he spoke so as to dissuade them from meddling with the affairs of the state. "If," he said, "two paths had opened before

me at the beginning, one leading to the rostrum and the assemblies of the people, and the other to destruction; and if I could have foreseen the miseries which attend public life, its fears, its dangers, its calumnies, its continual strifes and troubles, I would have rushed headlong into the path that led to death."

26. While Demosthenes was thus in exile, Alexander died. Greece recovered her energies. Leosthenes performed great feats in war. He shut Antipater up within intrenchments in Lamia. Pytheas, the orator, with Callimedon and Carabus, went from Athens to Antipater, and joined his friends in persuading the Greeks to adhere to the Macedonians in opposition to the Athenians. Demosthenes, on the contrary, accompanied the deputies from Athens in conjuring the Grecian states to assist them in driving the Macedonians from their country. It is said that Pytheas and Demosthenes met face to face, one pleading for Macedon, the other for Athens, in one of the cities of Arcadia. Pytheas said—"As we consider that house to be in a sickly state to which ass's milk is brought, so we may be sure that city is in a weak condition which admits ambassadors from Athens." Demosthenes retorted upon him with his own comparison, and said,—"The Athenians come, like ass's milk, to restore the sick to health." The Athenians were so delighted with this repartee of Demosthenes, that they passed a decree for his recall. They sent a galley to Ægina to bring him home. As he entered the harbour of Piræus, not a priest or a magistrate remained in the city: all the people went down to give him a joyful welcome. He raised his hands to heaven and said,—"How much happier am I than Alcibiades in returning from exile; for the citizens received him from necessity, but they receive me from affection!"

27. Though Demosthenes was restored to Athens, his fine remained unpaid, and it was not lawful to remit it; but the Athenians evaded the law in this way:—It was their custom to celebrate an annual feast in honour of Jupiter, and to allow a sum of money to the person who was intrusted with the preparation of the ceremonies: to this charge they appointed Demosthenes; and they paid him fifty talents, which was the amount of his fine. Yet he did not long enjoy his freedom, for the affairs of the Greeks

were soon entirely ruined. They were defeated by Craterus and Antipater at Cranon, in September; the Macedonian garrison entered Munychia, in October; and, in November, Demosthenes lost his life.

28. When it was known that the conquerors were advancing towards Athens, Demosthenes, and those of his party, hastened their escape from the city. After their departure, the Athenians, at the instigation of Demades, condemned the fugitives to death. As these unhappy men were scattered abroad for safety, they sent Archias, who had been a player, with a band of soldiers to pursue them. At Ægina he found Hyperides, Aristonicus of Marathon, and Himeræus, the brother of Demetrius Phalereus. They had sought an asylum in the temple of Ajax, in that island; but Archias tore them from it, and sent them to Antipater at Cleonæ, where they were put to death. Learning that Demosthenes had fled for refuge to the temple of Neptune, in the island of Calauria, Archias crossed over to the island with some Thracian soldiers. When he entered the temple, he advised Demosthenes to give himself up, and accompany him to Antipater, assuring him that he should suffer no harm. To the gentle and humane speech of Archias, Demosthenes, fixing his eyes on him, without rising, answered,—"O Archias, you never moved me when you were an actor on the stage, neither can you now conquer me by your promises." Archias then began to threaten him. Demosthenes said, "Now, indeed, you utter Macedonian oracles; you were only acting before. Wait a moment while I write something to those at home." Saying these words, he went to the interior of the temple, took out his tablets, as if about to write, and put the writing-reed into his mouth, as was his custom when studying. After standing thus for some time, he covered his head and laid himself down. The soldiers who stood at the doors laughed at him, as a coward. Archias drew near to him, and repeating his former promises, engaged to reconcile him to Antipater. Demosthenes now felt that the poison, which he had sucked from his reed, had reached his heart; he uncovered himself, and looking stedfastly at Archias, said, "You may now act the part of Cleon in the tragedy, and cast out this body unburied. Great Neptune! I leave thy temple while I yet

breathe; but Antipater and the Macedonians have profaned its sacred precincts." As he finished these words he asked them to support him, for he trembled and felt faint; but as he passed the altar he fell down, drew a long sigh, and expired.

29. Some time after the death of Demosthenes, the Athenians raised a statue of bronze in honour of his memory; and they decreed that the eldest of his family should live at the public expense in the Prytaneum. On the base of the statue was the inscription:—"If, Demosthenes, thy strength had equalled thy genius, Greece would not have been conquered by the Macedonian." A short time before Plutarch visited Athens, a soldier, who was summoned to his trial, placed what money he had in the hand of the statue of Demosthenes. The fingers were clasped together, and near the statue was a small plane-tree. The leaves of the tree, either driven by the wind or placed there by the soldier, had covered the money and hidden it for a long time, so that the man found it all safe when he came back to recover it. The report of this circumstance being spread through the city, the young wits contended with each other in writing poems to celebrate the disinterestedness of Demosthenes.

30. Demades did not long enjoy the fruit of his increasing glory. He went to Macedonia, where he perished by the hands of those whom he had flattered and then betrayed. He thus proved by experience, that "traitors betray themselves"—a lesson which Demosthenes had often taught him, but in vain.

31. It is easy to see that while Demosthenes possessed great force of genius, and attained the highest reputation for eloquence and patriotism, he was wanting, both in personal courage and in the virtue which resists the temptation of gold. Thus it is, that in the men whom we most admire, our admiration is checked by the discovery of their faults. It is humbling to acknowledge this inconsistency of man. It is well to feel it for ourselves; so to feel it as to subdue the tendencies of vanity and pride. An undue estimate of ourselves is continually rebuked by Jesus Christ, and denounced by his apostles. The truth is, that "we have nothing to be proud of." Genius is the gift of God. They who have more talents than others are under

deeper obligations to Divine goodness; and the consciousness of this obligation will produce humility rather than pride. Besides the truth, that we have nothing to be proud of, there is another truth, which is, that we have much in us of which we cannot think without humiliation and shame. How true, then, to the actual condition of human nature is the representation of it which is given in the Holy Scriptures! The mirror is perfect; and because it is perfect it shows man exactly as he is, without exaggeration and without distortion. Here each may see "what manner of man" he is.

32. The imperfections and faults of Demosthenes suggest a reflection of much practical value in our admiration of other men. The ability to command attention, to sway men's opinions, to move their passions, to direct their actions, is indeed a wonderful power, which never fails to excite the admiration of all, especially of the young, the ardent, and the ingenuous. In such admiration there is nothing unnatural, nothing wrong. It is due to those who possess such powers: it encourages a wholesome desire to emulate and to excel. Yet there is always a danger of being so captivated by the display of great and shining abilities, as to raise those who possess them above their proper level, and to give them an influence which they do not deserve, and which they may turn to evil purposes. We should, therefore, remember, that men of less brilliant qualities are often more useful, because they possess other qualities in which those who outshine them are deficient. Above all, integrity, benevolence, disinterestedness, the practical and humble piety of the undistinguished Christian, are of infinitely higher value than the most splendid abilities without them.

33. It was partly from his natural timidity, and partly from the fatal darkness of the religion of Greece, that Demosthenes committed the melancholy crime of putting an end to his own life. We are taught to regard such an act in its true light—as a sin against society, which has a right to our life and our services both in action and in suffering;—against ourselves, in depriving ourselves of the life which has been given us for accomplishing the will of God;—and against God, to whom alone belongs the right of taking away the precious life which only He can give. We are

taught, not only to regard suicide in its true light, but to cherish those lofty sentiments and animating hopes, which prevent the despair, the pride, the mortified ambition, the dread of man, the mental distraction and confusion, by which many are tempted to throw their lives away. We know that there is a remedy for all the ills of life to those who humbly betake themselves to that mercy which is revealed through Christ. We know that God is greater than man:—greater to punish, for he can destroy both soul and body in hell; and greater to bless, for he can help us to bear suffering, disgrace, torture, and death; and he has assured us that if we wait patiently on him, he will appear for us in due time; will vindicate our character; release us from our sorrows; and give us a place among those who, having followed Christ on earth, shall reign and rejoice with him in heaven.

LIFE OF PHOCION.

B. C. 316.

1. The family of Phocion is unknown. In his youth, he received the instructions, first of Plato, then of Xenocrates in the Academy, and engaged in the most liberal studies.

2. It is related that Phocion was never seen by any Athenian either to smile or to weep. He made no use of the public baths. He never allowed his hands to be seen outside his cloak. In his journeys, or in war, he walked barefoot. He also laid aside his cloak, excepting when the weather was excessively cold; so that it was a joke among the soldiers, "that the winter must be severe, since Phocion is clothed."

3. Though he was of a gentle and easy disposition, his aspect was so forbidding, that strangers feared to encounter him alone. Chares, the orator, spoke against Phocion's terrible eyebrows; the Athenian people laughed;—but Phocion, said, "This brow has brought you no sorrow; but the laughter of these men has cost Athens many tears." His speeches abounded in just thoughts and counsels,

expressed with commanding, austere, and gloomy brevity. As Zeno says that in the discourses of philosophy every word should be tinged with intelligence, so the speeches of Phocion contained much meaning in few words; to which Polyeuctus refers when he says,—"Demosthenes was the greatest orator, but Phocion the most effective speaker; for, as the most precious coins are small in bulk, so he valued speeches of this kind by their signifying much in a brief space."

4. It is related of Phocion, that one day, when the theatre was filled, he was walking thoughtfully below the scene, and one of his friends said to him, "You seem, Phocion, to be meditating something within yourself:" "Truly," he replied, "I am meditating if there be anything in the speech I am going to deliver to the Athenians which I can make shorter." Demosthenes held all other orators in the greatest contempt; but when Phocion rose, he was accustomed to whisper to his friends, "Here is the hatchet of my orations." But this may perhaps be ascribed to the morals of Phocion; since even a word or a nod from a man esteemed is equal to many laboured speeches.

5. Phocion, in his youth, accompanied Chabrias in the wars; and he was admirably trained by him in military science. Nor was he without use to his general, in correcting his weak and irregular disposition: for however lethargic and slow Chabrias might be at other times, when he was engaged in battle, he flung himself without reflection into the thickest dangers, and at last he threw his life away, by hurrying his vessel to be the first to land at Chios. But Phocion was qualified to stimulate Chabrias when he was languid, and to temper his impetuosity. For this reason, Chabrias, who was a candid and practical man, became warmly attached to Phocion. He promoted him to the most honourable posts, and raised his reputation among the Greeks by employing him in the most difficult undertakings. In the naval battle near the Isle of Naxos, he secured for Phocion the highest glory, by giving him the command of his left wing, where the battle raged most fiercely, and where the victory was quickly gained. As this was the first battle of the Athenians alone with other Greeks, since the capture of their city, they received Chabrias with extraordinary marks of their regard, and they hailed Phocion as a man worthy to take the supreme command.

6. Phocion was sent by Chabrias to collect tribute from the islands, with a fleet of twenty ships. Phocion said, "If you are sending me to carry on war, I must have a larger force; but if I am going to the allies, one ship is enough." He went in his own vessel, and addressed the cities; and he treated with their magistrates so frankly, that he returned accompanied by a large fleet which the allies had laden with their contributions.

7. Phocion honoured Chabrias during his life; and after his death, he took the utmost care of his relations. He laboured to reclaim his son Ctesippus from his vices. He found him exceedingly stupid and unmanageable; but he still persevered in endeavouring to amend, or to hide his faults. Only on one occasion, this youth obtruded so many impertinent questions and advices, as if he were competent to teach him his duties as a general, that Phocion said,—"O Chabrias, Chabrias! truly I pay dearly for thy friendship, in bearing with this son of thine!"

8. Phocion saw that the public men at that time in Athens had divided, as by lot, the military and the civil administrations: some of them, as Eubulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides, confined themselves to public speaking; while others, as Diopeithes, Menestheus, Leosthenes, and Chares, devoted themselves entirely to war: but for himself, he thought it better to go back to the practice of Pericles, Aristeides, and Solon, who united both in their own persons. Forming himself on these models, he aimed continually at peace and repose: yet he was more engaged in war than any other man, not only of his own, but of earlier times; neither seeking such employments, nor shrinking from them when his country called him to them. It appears that he received public appointments forty-five times, without having been once present at the election. People of little thought were surprised at the Athenians in this matter, since Phocion so often opposed their will, and never did or said anything to please them. But as kings are said to use their flatterers, who entertain them at their tables, so the Athenians used their most graceful and fascinating orators, listening with pleasure to their harangues; but when there was a question that concerned the command of their armies, then they called for the most austere and sensible man among their

citizens, and chose him who stood almost alone in contending with their wayward caprice.

9. One day, an oracle from Delphi was read in a full assembly of the Athenians, which said that all the Athenians were agreed, with one exception. Phocion rose, and said, "You need not trouble yourselves to inquire of whom the oracle speaks: I am that man, for I am not satisfied with anything that you are doing." At another time, when his orations met with universal approval and applause, he turned to his friends, saying, "Have I suffered something foolish to escape me?"

10. The Athenians were once asking for money to defray the charges of some sacrifice; and after others had given, they called on Phocion. "Ask these rich men," he said, "for I should be ashamed to give you anything before I have paid this man what I owe him,"—pointing to Calliades, who was his creditor. When they pressed him, and became clamorous, he related this fable: "A coward was going out to battle. He heard the crows begin to croak, laid aside his arms, and stayed at home. Immediately he took up his arms again, and made up his mind to go. The crows began to croak again: he stopped. At last he said, 'Croak away; but you shall not taste me.'" At another time, the Athenians ordered him to march against the enemy: Phocion refused. They called him a coward. "You cannot make me brave," he said, "neither can I make you timid; but, between ourselves, we understand each other."

11. At a time when the affairs of the Athenians were in a very critical state, the people conducted themselves with much asperity towards Phocion, and demanded an account of his administration. "Save yourselves first, I beseech you," was all he said. When the Athenians, who had been most abject and trembling during the war, became insolent after peace was made, they loaded Phocion with reproaches, and told him that he had snatched the victory from them. "Happy are you," he said, "in having a general who knows you: otherwise, ye would have perished long ago." On a different occasion, when the Athenians wished to end a dispute with the Bœotians, about the limits of their respective territories, not by reasoning, but by fighting, he advised them "to fight the Bœotians by means

of words, in which you excel them; not by arms, in which they excel you." At another time, when they would not assent to his opinion, and even refused to hear him, he said, "You may force me to do that of which I do not approve; but you cannot force me to speak contrary to my own judgment." One of his adversaries among the Athenian orators, Demosthenes, once said to him, "Phocion, the Athenians will kill thee." "If they are mad," replied Phocion; "but they will kill thee, if they are wise."

12. When he saw on a hot day Polyeuctus the Spheltian, a fat man, puffing and perspiring, and often drinking water, as he urged the people to go to war with Philip, Phocion said, "You ought, indeed, to follow this man's advice, and go to war! What a pretty figure he will cut, burdened with armour in the presence of the enemy, who is almost suffocated in delivering to you the speech which he has prepared!" Lycurgus, the orator, one day upbraided Phocion with many offences; among others, that he had advised the Athenians to comply with Alexander's demand for ten of their orators. Phocion replied, "I have given many good counsels to the Athenians, but they have not followed them."

13. It may seem wonderful that Phocion, who was so severe and cutting in his speeches, should have received the surname of The Good. But though difficult, it is not impossible for a man to be gentle in some respects, though in other respects, unpleasing, and even injurious. Phocion never treated any citizen as an enemy for private reasons; but if any of them opposed his efforts for the good of his country, he was firm and implacable in his resentment. In all other matters, he was of a familiar habit, and accessible; and so forgiving that, if the most violent of his enemies fell into trouble, he readily exposed himself to danger in pleading on their behalf. When his friends reproached him for defending a man of bad character, he replied, "Good men need no help." When Aristogeiton was condemned, he sent some of his friends to beg that Phocion would come to see him. Phocion's friends would have prevented him: but he said to them, "Allow me; for when could it be more agreeable to visit Aristogeiton?"

14. When the Athenians sent other commanders with

their fleets, their allies and the islanders looked on them as enemies, fortified their walls, closed their harbours, and withdrew, with their families and possessions, from their lands, to the protection of their cities; but when Phocion appeared, they went forth in their own ships, crowned with chaplets, to give him a joyful welcome.

15. At the time when Philip of Macedon was secretly practising in Eubœa, sending troops from Macedonia, and soliciting the adherence of the cities by means of their governors, Plutarch of Eretria, appealed to the Athenians to rescue him from the jaws of the Macedonians. They sent Phocion with a small force, hoping that the inhabitants would readily gather round him. Phocion soon saw that every part of their land was corrupted, and that he was himself in no small danger of being betrayed. He therefore, fortified a mount, separated by a deep ravine from the plain of Termypæ, in which he kept the best part of his army. When he was deserted by the disorderly, the idle, or the cowardly, he desired his officers to care nothing about them, as from their want of discipline they were useless, and might be in the way; whereas at home, in Athens, the consciousness of their own crime, in deserting their standards, would shut their mouths. On the approach of the enemy, he ordered his men to stand under arms till he had offered sacrifice. He protracted this ceremony very long, either because the signs were deemed inauspicious, or because he wished to draw the enemy nearer to him. Plutarch of Eretria, imagining that Phocion was detained by fear, rushed forwards with his hired troops. The Eretrian cavalry, seeing Phocion advance, hurried in a disorderly manner to the charge: but they were easily broken and scattered; and Plutarch betook himself to flight. Part of the enemy, believing that the victory was gained, advanced towards the camp; but at that moment Phocion had finished his sacrifice, and the Athenians immediately drove them back, and killed a great number of them as they attempted to escape along the ravine. Phocion ordered his main body to charge the enemy. The battle was bravely fought on both sides. Thallus son of Cineas, and Glaucus son of Polymedes, who were stationed near Phocion, fought more bravely than the rest. Cleophanes, too, gained great honour in that battle; for, calling back the cavalry

from their flight, and urging them with loud cries to come to the help of their general, who was in imminent danger, he secured, by their return, the victory to the main body.

16. After this battle, Phocion drove Plutarch from Eretria, and took possession of Zaretra, a fortification on a narrow neck of land, washed on both sides of the sea. He did not suffer any of the Greeks to be made prisoners, from a fear that the Athenian orators might stir up the people to take summary vengeance on them. Having brought these affairs to a prosperous issue, he returned home. His absence was deeply regretted by the allies, who remembered his humanity and justice with the liveliest gratitude; and the Athenian people could not fail to appreciate his valour and sagacity; for Molossus, who succeeded him, carried on the war in such a manner as to be taken alive by the enemy; and Philip, whose hopes were now enlarged by success, moved his whole force to the Hellespont, to occupy at once the Chersonesus, Perinthus, and Byzantium.

17. While the Athenians were preparing to send succours to Byzantium, the orators contended that Chares should be intrusted with that mission; but Chares did nothing worthy of the forces committed to his charge. The citizens would not admit him to their harbour. Viewed by all with suspicion, he was obliged to creep along the coast, extorting money from the allies, and incurring the contempt of the enemy. The Athenian people, worked on by their orators, began to repent of sending succours to the Byzantines. But Phocion said to them,—"It is unjust to be angry at your allies for their want of confidence; you ought rather to be angry with those generals who have excited their distrust; for they have made you an object of terror to those whose safety depends entirely on you." Moved by this speech, the Athenians changed their minds, and ordered Phocion himself to go to the Hellespont. This order was of the greatest importance for the safety of Byzantium. The very name of Phocion was a shield. Cleon, a principal citizen of Byzantium, had been an early friend of Phocion in the Academy. He pledged himself for him to the Byzantines. They would not permit him to encamp without their walls, as he desired, but opened

their gates to receive him, and conducted the Athenians to their houses. This confidence encouraged the Athenians to live among them in the most temperate manner, and to use their best efforts for them in the field. Philip was thus driven from the Hellespont in disgrace; for till then he had seemed to be invincible. Phocion captured some of Philip's ships, and recovered some of the towns in which he had placed garrisons; and by making frequent incursions, he ravaged the lands held by him; until, having received a wound in battle, he sailed back to Athens.

18. The Megaræans applied secretly for the help of the Athenians. Phocion, fearing lest the Bœotians, coming to the knowledge of this, should prevent their success, made the proposals known to the people early in the morning: and, as soon as their sanction was given, sounded the signal for taking arms and departing. The Megaræans received him with joy. He instantly fortified the harbour of Nisæa, and joined it to the city by two walls; so that having little anxiety about an attack of their enemies by land, they became decided in their adherence to the Athenians.

19. The Athenians were now openly committed to the war with Philip. In Phocion's absence at the islands, they had appointed other generals. On his return, he laboured to persuade the Athenians to accept the treaty of peace proposed to them by Philip. One of the sycophants that were continually hanging about the public tribunals, asked him,—"Do you venture, Phocion, to turn the Athenians, now they have taken up arms?" Phocion replied, "I do; even while I know that war puts you in my power, and peace puts me in yours." His counsel was rejected for that of Demosthenes, that they should carry on the war at as great a distance as possible from Athens. "My friend," said Phocion, "let us consider, not where to fight, but how to conquer; for thus we can put the battle as far off as we please; to the vanquished, all kinds of miseries are at hand."

20. The Athenians being vanquished, the most turbulent of the citizens drew Charidemus to the tribunal, and demanded that he should be chosen general. The better citizens were alarmed; and by appealing to the court of Areopagus, it was with many prayers and tears that they prevailed on the people to intrust the charge of the republic to Phocion. Phocion thought that the laws and condi-

tions proposed by Philip should be accepted. But afterwards, Demas proposed that Athens should be included in the general Grecian confederacy. Phocion objected, that they should first know the conditions which Philip would require from the Greeks. The times were not favourable to Phocion's views. When he saw the Athenians disposed to repent of the step they had taken, because they were required to provide ships and cavalry for Philip's use, he said, "This is what I feared; but now that you have joined the confederacy, you should neither murmur nor despond, remembering that your fathers were at one time required to command, and at another to obey; and that by acting uprightly, and with honour in both conditions, they saved themselves and Greece."

21. Phocion would not allow any public rejoicings at Athens when they received intelligence of Philip's death, alleging that it betrayed an abject spirit to rejoice over the death of an enemy; and that the army with which they had fought at Chæronea was lessened by only one man.

22. Phocion rebuked Demosthenes for his invectives against Alexander as he marched against Thebes, by quoting the words of the companions of Ulysses, after their escape from the cave of Polyphemus:

> "Why rouse that monster, whose resistless force
> The mountains hurled, that backward turned our course,
> Back to impending death!"

"Would you cast this republic into such a fire, so near at hand? I would rather keep the people from it, however eager they may be, since it is for that purpose that I have undertaken the command."

23. After the destruction of Thebes, Alexander demanded of the Athenians that they should give up to him Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and Charidemus: the whole assembly fixed their eyes on Phocion, and frequently called on him by name. As he rose, he placed near him one of his most confidential friends, and said, "These orators have brought our affairs to such a pass, that if any one should demand even Nicocles here, I should give him up; I should even think it a happiness to give my own life for you all. I am grieved, Athenians, for the Thebans who have fled to us for refuge; but it suffices that the Greeks

should lament the fate of Thebes. Instead of fighting, let us intercede with the conquerors for both Thebes and Athens."

24. It is said that Alexander flung from him the first decree of the Athenians, and turned his back on the deputies who brought it. But the second, which was presented by Phocion, he received when he heard from the older men of his court that he was a man whom Philip his father had greatly honoured. He not only listened to his discourse and his intentions, but admitted him to his council. Phocion advised him, if he "sought repose, to lay down his arms; if glory, to turn those arms from the Greeks against the Barbarians." He so won upon Alexander by sentiments suited to his genius and disposition, that he said to him, "Let the Athenians look well to what is going on; for if I am taken away, the empire will be theirs." With Phocion he entered into the closest friendship, and raised him to honours which but few of his constant attendants had acquired. On one occasion, he sent him a hundred talents from Asia. When the servants of Alexander brought this money to Athens, Phocion asked them why, among so many Athenians, Alexander had sent so large a present to him alone? They replied, "Because he believes you alone to be a good and honourable man." "Then," said Phocion, "permit me to be so esteemed, and to be so in reality." They then accompanied him to his house. There they noticed his remarkable frugality, his wife baking, and Phocion himself drawing water from the well to wash their feet. They urged him the more to receive Alexander's present, and said that it was degrading for the friend of the king to live in so hardy a manner. A poor old man in a threadbare cloak passing by, Phocion asked them, "Do you think that man's case is worse than mine?" They addressed him in complimentary words; he replied, "He lives on less, and is content. In short, since I have no use for this money, I will not have it in my possession; for it would bring both on me and on Alexander the reproaches of the Athenian people." The money, therefore, was carried back; and Phocion showed the Greeks, that by not wanting it, he was richer than he who had sent it. When Alexander, offended at this refusal, wrote to Phocion, that he did not regard as his

friends those who would receive nothing from him, Phocion still declined the money; but he begged for the liberty of Echecratides the sophist, Athenodorus the Imbrian, and Demaratus and Sparto of Rhodes, who had been apprehended on some charges, and were kept in chains at Sardis. Alexander immediately discharged them. After this, Craterus was sent by Alexander from Asia, and he ordered him to give Phocion his choice of four Asiatic cities, and to tell him in the most earnest manner, that Alexander would be indignant if he did not accept it. Alexander died not long after.

25. Phocion's house was shown in Plutarch's time, in the ward of Melita, adorned with some plates of brass, but small and unpretending. Of two wives whom he married, we know nothing respecting the first, but that she was sister of Cephisodotus, a statuary. The second was not less celebrated among the Athenians for her frugality and chastity, than Phocion was for his integrity. An actor who was to personate a queen before a full assembly of Athenians, demanded a train of followers richly dressed; which being refused, he kept the spectators waiting, until Melanthus, who furnished the representation, pushed him on the stage, saying aloud, "Dost thou not see the wife of Phocion, attended by a single maid? Comest thou hither to show thy insolence, and to pervert the manners of our women?" The theatre was shaken with applause. This same wife of Phocion was visited by an Ionian lady, who showed her brilliant collars and bracelets of gold and gems. "My ornament," she said, "is Phocion, now, for the twentieth year, the general of the Athenians."

26. Phocion's son wished to contend in the games of *Panathenæa*. His father consented,—not that he cared anything about his gaining the victory, but because he hoped that the youth, who was dissolute and fond of drinking, might be benefited by the training. Many of the young man's friends offered to celebrate his victory by feasts; but Phocion declined them all, except one. When Phocion came to the feast, he observed, among other extravagances, that wine mingled with aromatics was presented to wash the feet of the guests. Calling his son, he said to him, "Phocus, are you not allowing your friends to rob you of your victory?" To correct the bad habits of

Phocus, his father took him to Sparta, and placed him in one of the classes of youths who were trained in the discipline of their country. By so doing, he gave umbrage to the Athenian people, as though he despised the institutions of his own city. Demades said to him, on one occasion, "Why not, Phocion, persuade the Athenians to adopt the Spartan customs? If you like, I will propose it to the people, and draw up a law for that purpose." "Truly," said Phocion, "it will become you, redolent of perfume, and wearing that mantle, to advise the Athenians to live like the Spartans, and to praise Lycurgus."

27. At a time when Alexander wrote to the Athenians to send him some ships, the orators were for opposing the measure; but the council called on Phocion for his opinion. "My opinion is," he said, "that you must either conquer by your arms, or be the friends of those who do." To Pytheas, who displayed great fluency and boldness in his first address to the Athenians, he said, "And cannot you, so lately made a freeman, hold your peace;" Harpalus had fled from Babylon with vast treasures belonging to Alexander, and brought them to Athens. He was immediately attended by a crowd of orators ready to sell their abilities. To these he gave a small portion of his wealth; but to Phocion he sent seven hundred talents, committing his person, and all he had, to his protection. When Phocion sent him word that he should not go on corrupting the Athenians with impunity, he remained quiet for a time. In a few days, the Athenian people were assembled to discuss this business. Harpalus observed that the men who had accepted this money had become his enemies to save themselves; while Phocion, who had kept clean hands, was willing to consult the safety of Harpalus, so far as consisted with the public good. He therefore made the most strenuous efforts to gain him entirely to his interests; but having tried him on every side, he found him like a citadel, on which gold could make no impression. He contracted a close friendship with Charicles, Phocion's son-in-law; whose character was brought into suspicion for that reason, as he trusted all his affairs in his hands, and transacted all his business through him. When Charicles was called to account for the money he had received from Harpalus, he begged the protection of Phocion; but Phocion

refused, saying, "Charicles, I made thee my son-in-law, only for honourable purposes."

28. The first person that brought to Athens the news of Alexander's death, was Asclepiades. Demades refused to credit his report; "For," said he, "the whole world would be filled with the odour of his corpse." Phocion saw that the people were excited, and ripe for sudden changes, and did what in him lay to put some restraint upon their passions. But when he saw one orator after another springing to the tribune and crying out, "The news is true; Alexander is dead:" he called out, "Be it so: if he is dead to-day, he will be dead to-morrow, and dead the day after: you will have ample time to deliberate with leisure, and more safely."

29. Leosthenes, who saw how indignant Phocion was at his misconduct in hurrying the Athenians into war, tried to put him down by ridicule. "What good," he said, "has Phocion done, in all the years in which he has been your general?" Phocion answered, "Is it a small thing, that citizens have been buried in their own sepulchres?" Leosthenes became fierce and insolent in his address to the people; but Phocion said, "Your speech, young man, is like the cypresses,—large and tall, but without fruit." Hyperides rose and asked, "When, then, Phocion, would you advise the Athenian people to take up arms?" He answered, "When I shall see the young keeping their place, the rich offering their money, and the orators holding back their hands from the treasury."

30. The preparations which Leosthenes made for war excited universal admiration among the Athenians. When they asked Phocion what he thought of them, he said, "Very well, for the short race; but I fear the coming back: the state has no more horses, nor ships, nor men." And so the event proved. At first, Leosthenes gained a splendid name; for he defeated the Bœotians in battle, and he drove Antipater within the walls of Lamia. Every day the Athenians were making feasts, and offering sacrifices. They asked Phocion, "Do you not wish that you had done these things?" "Truly," he replied, "but I would have advised very different things to be done." And when messengers and letters were continually reporting new victories, he said, "When are we to give over conquering?" After the death of Leosthenes, those who

were afraid that if Phocion were appointed general he would bring the war to an end, prompted an obscure man to rise in the assembly, and say, "that, as a private friend and a former schoolfellow of Phocion, he moved that they should be sparing of so great a man, who had no equal; and that Antiphilus be placed at the head of the army." The people assented to this man's proposal. Phocion rose and said: "I was never at school with this man, nor did I ever know him; but from this day I enter into friendship with him, since he has so well consulted my advantage."

31. Phocion was strongly opposed to the war with the Bœotians. When some of his friends told him that if he persevered in his opposition the Athenians might be provoked to put him to death, "Unjustly," he replied, "if I consult their interest; if I injure them, justly." When, however, he could not appease their clamours, he ordered a herald to proclaim: "All the Athenians who are not more than sixty years of age are required to take five days' provision, and immediately to follow Nicias from the assembly." There was a great tumult, the elder citizens crying out, and making their escape. "There is no hardship," said Phocion; "I, your general, fourscore years old, shall be with you." For a while this proceeding kept them pretty quiet; but some time after, when the Attic coasts were invaded by Micion with a large Macedonian force, Phocion led the Athenian army against him. As the Athenians crowded upon him with their advices and opinions, suggesting that here he should occupy a mound, and there plant his cavalry, he exclaimed, "O Hercules! how many generals I see, but how few soldiers!" When he had drawn up in the order of battle, one of his infantry went forward from the line, but struck at once with the dread of an enemy coming to meet him, he quickly returned to the ranks. "Are you not ashamed, young man," said Phocion, "to have deserted two posts: the one assigned by your general, and that chosen by yourself?" He then charged the enemy, and completely routed them, putting Micion and a large number of his people to death. About the same time, the army of the Grecian League in Thessaly gained a battle against Antipater, who was joined by Leonnatus, and all the Macedonians from Asia. In this battle, the infantry of the Greeks was commanded by

Antiphilus, and the Thessalian cavalry by Menon. Leonnatus was killed.

32. Not long after these successes, however, the Greeks were defeated near Cranon, by a powerful army brought by Craterus from Asia. Their loss was not very heavy; and it was occasioned by the insubordination of the soldiers to young and feeble officers. At the same time, many of the states were induced by the arts of Antipater, to abandon the League, and basely to sell their liberty. Profiting by their desertions, Antipater marched straight against Athens. Demosthenes and Hyperides made their escape from the city. Demades had been fined seven times for making proposals against the laws, and not being able to pay any portion of the penalties, he had been declared infamous, and had lost the right of addressing the assembly. But, now, finding himself at liberty, he proposed that ambassadors should be sent to Antipater, with full power to sue for peace. The people were alarmed, and called with one voice for Phocion, declaring that he was the only man whom they could trust. "If you had followed my counsels," he said, "you would not now have been in a condition to require deliberation on such a proposal." The law having passed, Phocion was sent to Antipater, who had encamped at Thebes, ready to march upon Attica.

33. The first thing Phocion required of Antipater was, that he should enter into a treaty of peace before he moved his camp. Craterus objected, that the proposal was unreasonable, since, by remaining where they were, they were burdening their friends, when they might be living at the expense of their enemies. But Antipater took him by the right hand, and said, "We must grant this favour to Phocion." In other respects, he required the Athenians to leave him to declare the conditions of peace, as they had required him to submit to Leosthenes, at the siege of Lamia. When Phocion returned with these terms to Athens, the citizens were compelled by their necessities to grant them. He then went again, with additional ambassadors, to Thebes. Among them was Xenocrates the philosopher; for so high was his reputation that they believed it impossible for the most fierce and headstrong of mankind to avoid the reverence which his very looks inspired. But such was Antipater's savage hatred of virtue,

that the event was quite contrary to their expectation; for while he embraced the others, he did not even salute Xenocrates. Whence Xenocrates is reported to have said, "Antipater has done well, to be ashamed of having me for a witness of the injustice he is meditating against Athens." Afterwards Antipater cut him short, as he was beginning to speak. When Phocion had spoken, Antipater said that he was willing to form a treaty of peace and friendship with the Athenians, on condition that they should give up Demosthenes and Hyperides; that they should establish their government on the ancient footing, when the power was in the hands of the wealthy; that they should receive a garrison into Munychia; and that they should pay all the expenses of the war, and a fine besides. All the ambassadors, except Xenocrates, joyfully accepted these conditions as highly favourable; but he said, "that Antipater dealt moderately with them as slaves; but, as freemen with great severity." Phocion expressed strong objections to the placing of a garrison in Munychia; but Antipater, we are told, replied to him, "We are prepared, Phocion, to indulge thee in all things, except in those which would destroy both thee and ourselves." It is represented by others in this way. Antipater asked Phocion if he would guarantee the faithful observance of all the other conditions, in case the garrison was not insisted on. Phocion was silent, and hesitating about his reply, when Callimedon, a violent hater of popular governments, broke in with these words: "If this man were to pledge himself, Antipater, wouldst thou trust him, and abandon thine own designs?" So the Athenians were forced to submit; and a Macedonian garrison occupied Munychia. It was commanded by Menyllus, a man of moderate disposition, and a friend of Phocion.

34. The Athenians resented this condition, as a proof of the harshness and insolence of Antipater, rather than as a wise precaution. It was rendered the more mortifying to them, that the garrison entered Munychia on the day when they celebrated their Greater Mysteries by carrying Bacchus in procession from Eleusis. The people looked back to bygone times. "Formerly," they said, "our enemies were terrified by the mystic visions and the voices that accompanied our sacred ceremonies; but now the gods look with indifference on our sorest calamities, and

permit the holiest and happiest season of the year to be profaned as the date of our most terrible sufferings."

35. The garrison, commanded by Menyllus, did no harm to the Athenians; but twelve thousand citizens were excluded, by the treaty, from all share in the government. Part of these, remaining in Athens, lamented the injustice and infamy by which they were degraded; the rest, who withdrew to Thrace, where Antipater assigned a city and some lands for their use, had all the appearance of a subdued and exterminated people. The death of Demosthenes in the isle of Calauria, and of Hyperides at Cleonæ, made the Athenians remember with regret and almost affection the reigns of Alexander and Philip. They were like the Phrygian peasant in the times when the murderers and successors of Antigonus so heavily oppressed his subjects. The man was digging the earth, and some one asking him what he was seeking, he said with a groan, "I am seeking Antigonus." This saying occurred to not a few Athenians, who remembered how lofty, generous, and, at the same time, placable, those great kings had been, and contrasted them with Antipater, who held his power under the mask of a private man, with the coarseness of his cloak and the simplicity of his living, but acted the part of a most cruel and tyrannical oppressor to those who were brought under his power. Nevertheless, he was induced by Phocion to recall many from banishment, and to grant to many exiles an abode in the Peloponnesus, instead of being forced, like the rest, to live beyond the Ceraunian mountains and the promontory of Tænarus. Of this number was Agnonides the sycophant.

36. The inhabitants of Athens were mildly and justly governed. Good and moderate men were retained in the magistracy: the troublesome and seditious were deprived of the power of doing mischief, and they cooled down amid the labours of their fields and gardens. One day Menyllus saw Xenocrates paying tribute as a stranger; he proposed to enrol him as a citizen, but Xenocrates refused, saying, "I will not be a member of a government which, as an ambassador, I opposed." Menyllus sent a large sum of money as a present to Phocion; but Phocion said to him, "Menyllus is not a greater man than Alexander, nor has Phocion a better reason for accepting a present now than

he had when he refused one from the king." Menyllus prayed him to receive it at least for his son, but he replied, "If Phocus should change his course of life, his patrimony will suffice; but if he continue as he is, nothing will suffice him." When Antipater would have persuaded him to do something inconsistent with his honour; he answered him very severely, "It will not do, Antipater, to use me as a friend, and, at the same time, as a flatterer." Antipater himself is believed to have said, "I have at Athens two friends, Phocion and Demades: one of them I cannot induce to take anything; the other I cannot satisfy." And truly, Phocion gloried in his poverty as a virtue, which he held fast to the end of his life, though he had been so often general to the Athenians, and had numbered the greatest kings among his friends. Demades, on the contrary made a parade of his riches, even in matters forbidden by the laws; for no foreigner was allowed to appear in a musical chorus, under a penalty of a thousand drachmæ; but Demades introduced a chorus composed entirely of a hundred foreigners, and brought at the same time into the theatre ten thousand drachmæ to pay the penalty. In the same spirit he said to his son at his marriage, "When I married thy mother, my son, not a neighbour knew; but even kings and governments contribute to the expenses of thy nuptials."

37. The Athenians urged Phocion to induce Antipater to remove the Macedonian garrison from Munychia, but he always refused such an embassy; either because he had no hope of moving Antipater, or because he saw that the people acted with greater modesty and more wisely while they were under that restraint. He did obtain from Antipater a longer term for the payment of the money. What Phocion declined, the Athenians proposed to Demades, who readily undertook it, and went with his son to Macedonia. He arrived at the time when Antipater was ill of the malady of which he died. Cassander, who held the reins of government, found a letter written by Demades to Antigonus in Asia, inciting him to take the empire of Greece and Macedonia, which he said was now "hanging by an old and rotten stalk:" so he expressed his contempt for Antipater. Cassander apprehended him as soon as he arrived. First, he killed his son, so near to him that the

father received the son's blood in his bosom; and then, bitterly reproaching him for his ingratitude and treachery, he killed Demades himself.

38. Antipater on his death-bed himself appointed Polysperchon general, and Cassander a commander of a thousand men. But when Antipater was dead, Cassander aimed at the supreme power. Without loss of time he sent Nicanor to succeed Menyllus, and to take possession of the garrison at Munychia, before the Athenians could hear of Antipater's death. In a few days after, the death of Antipater was announced. The Athenians accused Phocion of having known of this event, and of concealing it for the sake of Nicanor; but he was unmoved. He had frequent interviews with Nicanor, and induced him to render himself popular among the Athenians by the magnificent games with which he indulged them. While this was going on at Athens, Polysperchon, who was the guardian of the young king, Alexander's son, was using means to counteract Cassander's schemes. He wrote letters to the Athenians, assuring them that the king restored to them their popular government, and ordered that all the Athenians should be admitted to their ancient privileges. Polysperchon's object was to lay a snare for Phocion. Wishing to become master of Athens, as his conduct soon after showed, he had no hope of succeeding so long as Phocion lived; and he relied for his destruction on the restoration of the orators and sycophants whom Phocion had excluded from the government.

39. The Athenians were greatly moved by these letters of Polysperchon. Nicanor came to their assembly in the Piræus, for the purpose of addressing the people on the matters to which they referred, trusting his person to the care of Phocion. Drocyllus, the general commanding the territories outside the city, attempted to seize Nicanor; but he being apprised of it made his escape, threatening to avenge himself on the city. Phocion was blamed for not detaining him when he was in his power; but he answered, that "he confided in Nicanor, and apprehended no evil from him; but if it should turn out that he had been mistaken, he wished all men to know that he would rather bear injustice than inflict it." At this time, Polysperchon's son appeared at Athens with an army, professing

that he came to support the Athenians against Nicanor, but in fact to seize their city, if an opportunity should arise in the midst of the dissensions which distracted it. The exiles who accompanied Alexander, together with foreigners and citizens of the basest character, resorted to him; and in a confused and irregular assembly they deposed Phocion, and appointed other generals. The Athenians would not have escaped the danger which now threatened them if their suspicions had not been awakened by seeing that Alexander had frequent private interviews with Nicanor near the city walls. The orator Agnonides accused Phocion of treason. Callimedes and Charicles left the city through fear. Phocion and his remaining adherents went to Polysperchon. They were accompanied by Solon of Platæa, and Deinarchus of Corinth, who were regarded as friends of Polysperchon. On their way, they were detained many days at Elatea in Phocis, on account of the sickness of Deinarchus; and during this delay the Athenians were persuaded by Archestratus and Agnonides to send ambassadors to accuse Phocion before Polysperchon.

40. Both these parties reached Polysperchon at the same time. He was with the young king near Pharages, in Phocis. There he erected a canopy of gold, beneath which he placed the king and his friends. His first act was to order Deinarchus to be tortured, and then put to death. He then gave the Athenians a hearing. In the midst of the tumult and clamour of their mutual accusations, Agnonides came forward and said; "Throw us all into one cage, and send us back to Athens, to plead our cause there." The king laughed; but the crowd of Macedonians and strangers were eager to hear them, and made signs to the ambassadors to proceed. There was no equity displayed on the occasion. Polysperchon often interrupted Phocion, and at last he struck the ground with his staff and ordered him to be silent. When Hegemon appealed to Polysperchon as a witness of his affection for the people, Polysperchon answered with indignation, "Cease from falsely accusing me to the king." The king started up, and attempted to strike Hegemon with his spear; but Polysperchon quickly embraced him. The assembly was then broken up.

41. Phocion and such of his friends as stood by him were taken in custody. As soon as those who were at a

distance saw this, they covered their heads, and escaped by flight. Cleitus conducted the prisoners to Athens, professedly to be tried, but in reality to be punished as criminals already condemned to death. The manner of conveying them rendered it a sad spectacle. They were carried in wagons along the Ceramicus to the theatre. There they were detained until the magistrate had summoned an assembly. From that assembly, neither slaves, foreigners, nor infamous persons were excluded; but the theatre was open to men, and women, of every kind. The letter of the king was read, declaring that he knew these men were traitors, but that he committed the judging of them to the Athenians as free-men, now living in the enjoyment of their own laws. Cleitus introduced the prisoners. When the higher class of citizens looked at Phocion, they blushed, dropped their heads, and wept. One of them ventured to say: "Since so grave a trial is committed to the people, slaves and foreigners ought to be removed from the assembly." But the people cried out, and threatened to stone these defenders of the power of the few against the many. Not a voice was heard on behalf of Phocion. With great difficulty, he himself obtained a hearing. He said, "Is it your mind to put us to death justly or unjustly?" Some persons having answered, "Justly;" he added, "How can you know this, unless you hear us?" But, finding them still unwilling to hear him, he drew nearer to them and said, "I confess that I have done wrong; and for my conduct I condemn myself to death; but why will you destroy these Athenians who have done no wrong?" When the multitude answered, "because they are thy friends," Phocion held his peace.

42. Agnonides now read the decree which he had written, that the people should give their suffrages for the acquittal or condemnation of the prisoners. After the decree was read, some one proposed that Phocion should be tortured before his final punishment, and that the wheel and the executioners should be sent for. But Agnonides, seeing that Cleitus disapproved, and judging himself that it would be a barbarous cruelty, said, "Athenians, when we deal with the wretch Callimedon, we will torture him; but I will do nothing of the kind to Phocion." Here a certain honourable citizen called out, "Truly, thou art right, for if

we should torture Phocion what must we do to thee?" The whole assembly rose, and the greater part of them crowned themselves with flowers. The prisoners were condemned to die. There were with Phocion, Nicocles, Thudippus, Hegemon, and Pythocles. Demetrius the Phalerian, Callimedon, Charicles, and some others, who were absent, were likewise condemned to death.

43. When the assembly was dismissed, Phocion and his companions were led to prison. His companions bewailed their misery with loud cries and lamentations, as they received the last embraces of their friends: but Phocion maintained the same steady countenance which they had seen when he proceeded from that assembly to take the command of armies. They were astonished at his calm and lofty bearing. His enemies ran beside him, assailing him with reproaches. One of them spat upon him. Phocion turned to the magistrate, saying, "Will no man put a stop to this man's rudeness?" When Thudippus saw the bruising of the hemlock in the prison, he complained of the injustice of his fate in being killed with Phocion. Phocion said to him, "Dost thou not think it an honour to die with Phocion?" One of Phocion's friends asked him if he had any word to send to Phocus: "Tell him," he said, "that I command him to forget the injustice of the Athenian people." Nicocles, his most faithful friend begged that he would allow him to drink the poison first. He replied, "Thou askest a hard thing, my Nicocles, and grievous to me; but, as I have never denied thee anything else in all my life, I will grant thee this." When all the rest had drunk, there was not enough poison left for Phocion, and the executioner refused to prepare any more until he received twelve *drachmæ*. As this occasioned some delay, Phocion called to one of his friends, "Since an Athenian may not die but at his own expense, let the man have the money."

44. The day of Phocion's death was the day on which the Athenians paraded the streets on horseback in honour of Jupiter. As they passed the prison, some of them drew off their chaplets, and others looked back on the prison gates, and wept. Those who were not entirely brutalized by passion, regarded it as a fearful impiety to pollute the solemnity of such a day by a public execution. But the

enemies of Phocion, resolved to complete their victory, obtained a decree that his body should be cast out beyond their boundaries, and that no Athenian should light his funeral pile. None of his friends ventured to touch his body. One Conossion, however, a man accustomed to render such services for hire, took it beyond the Eleusinian frontier, and burned it with fire from the house of a woman of Megara. This woman, assisted by her maids, raised a tomb, and consecrated it to the memory of Phocion. Collecting his ashes in her bosom, she buried them that night beneath her hearth, with these words: "To thee, O friendly hearth, I commit these remains of a good man; restore them to the tombs of his fathers when the Athenians return to their right mind."

45. It was not long before the Athenians were taught, by their misfortunes, what a watchful guardian of temperance and justice they had destroyed. They dedicated to his memory a statue of bronze. They condemned Agnonides to death, and executed him. Phocion's son pursued and punished Epicurus and Demophilus, who fled from the city. What happened to Phocion renewed the remembrance of the fate of Socrates. They were treated with like injustice, and in both cases Athens was punished with similar calamities.

46. The public conduct of Phocion in his later years was wanting alike in dignity and in patriotism. He opposed the freedom and independence of Athens. He has thus left an example to be shunned, not followed. When we cannot act on good principles, we should not act at all. To do right is always honourable, whether it be successful or not. It is in difficult circumstances that men are tried. It is then that principles are seen. We are not at liberty to imagine what our conduct might be in circumstances different from those in which we are placed, nor to lay the blame on any outward events whatever when we have done wrong. We have a simple rule to guide us; and to God, who gives us that rule, our great account is to be rendered. Then it will not avail us to plead the fault of others in excuse for our own. Each will answer for himself, and not for another.

47. There is an independence of spirit which springs

from pride, and betrays itself in arrogance or selfishness. He who looks only on his own talents or attainments, or who scorns those who may be inferior to him in these respects, is not likely to have many friends; and he will find his enemies bitter and unrelenting. Even when the proud man seeks the welfare of others, but refuses to sympathize with them, and treats their opinions and their actions with contempt, we must not be surprised if in his adversity his merits are forgotten. Such appears at all times to have been the spirit of Phocion. But it is not the spirit of the wise and truly humane religion which is taught in the gospel. There we are instructed to be "clothed with humility;" to "condescend to men of low estate;" to exercise "forbearance" towards the weaknesses and faults of others;" to look "on the things of others," as well as on our own; to remember who maketh us "to differ;" and, while we ascribe all that is good in us to the grace of God, to seek to please our "neighbour unto edification." All men are to be honoured. All partake of the same nature, are involved in the same apostasy, and must be saved by faith in the same Redeemer. To despise a man is to despise God his Maker. To be indifferent to the approbation of men is great arrogance.

48. But there is an independence of mind which is essential to true dignity, and which secures the noblest enjoyment. Phocion was indeed wiser than Alexander, when he refused his presents. Daniel was superior to Belshazzar, when he said, "Let thy gifts be to thyself, and give thy rewards to another." He who judges for himself, in truth and falsehood, right and wrong, good and evil, is no despiser of the judgments of others: though his principles, convictions, and preferences, being his own, will not bow to the authority, or yield to the persuasions, of his fellow-mortal. And he who so regulates his desires as to abridge his wants, is raised above many of the temptations before which others are continually falling. It is a hard lesson, and but slowly learned, "in whatsoever state" we are "therewith to be content." Yet until we do learn it, we are slaves—slaves to opinion, whether of the few or of the many; slaves to those who have it in their power to gratify or disappoint us; and slaves to our own desires. The

heart which depends on God alone is "free of the universe," everywhere at home, always happy; and this is the freedom wherewith the "Son" makes us free,—"free indeed."

LIFE OF EUMENES.

B. C. 431.

1. It is related that the father of Eumenes, of Cardia, was reduced by poverty to exercise the calling of a currier in the Thracian Chersonesus. He trained up his son in learning and liberal exercises. In the days of Eumenes' boyhood, it is said, king Philip passed through the town of Cardia, and amused himself at his leisure by watching the exercises of the youths and children. He marked the superiority of Eumenes to the other boys in courage and address, and was so much pleased that he took him into his own family. But Plutarch thinks it more probable, according to the account given by others, that Philip promoted Eumenes out of regard to his father, to whom he was bound by the ties of friendship and hospitality. After Philip's death, Eumenes was not second to any of Alexander's attendants in either wisdom or fidelity. His office was that of chief secretary; but he enjoyed as much of the king's esteem as the most familiar of his friends. He had the command of an expedition in India; and he succeeded Perdiccas when he was appointed to the province vacated by the death of Hephæstion. For this very reason, when Neoptolemus boasted, after the death of Alexander, that he had borne the shield and the spear of that prince, while Eumenes handled the *stylus* and tablets, the Macedonians laughed at him, knowing that Alexander had honoured Eumenes, not by military appointments only, but by a family alliance; for, on the celebrated occasion on which he married the daughter of one of the noblest Persian houses to one of his principal friends, he gave one of his sisters-in-law to Ptolemy, and a second to Eumenes.

2. Eumenes was, nevertheless, often in disgrace with Alexander, and he was brought into considerable danger

on account of Hephæstion. On one occasion Hephæstion had given to Evius, a flute-player, the house which the servants of Eumenes had taken for their master. Eumenes went to Alexander, and cried out that it would be better for him to throw away his arms, and learn to play the flute, or perform tragedies. Alexander at first took up his complaint, and sharply rebuked Hephæstion; but a little while after he changed, and his anger fell on Eumenes for having spoken with more reproach to himself than freedom against Hephæstion. At another time, when Alexander wished to send Nearchus on a secret expedition to explore the ocean, he asked his friends for money, not having any in his treasury. From Eumenes he asked for three hundred talents, and he offered him only one hundred, and that with no courtesy, complaining that he had great difficulty in raising it. Alexander neither reproached him, nor accepted the money, but he ordered his tent to be secretly set on fire, that he might convict him of falsehood, when he was obliged to bring out his money. Unhappily the tent was burned down too quickly to allow of anything being carried out, and Alexander repented of the act, because his own papers were destroyed. They found in the ruins more than a thousand talents of silver and gold, melted by the flames. Alexander did not take any of the gold; and he sent to all the satraps and præfects for copies of the papers which had been burned, and ordered them to be committed to the charge of Eumenes. Another bitter quarrel afterwards arose between Eumenes and Hephæstion, on account of some gift. Notwithstanding this, Alexander continued his favour to Eumenes; but after Hephæstion's death, which threw the king into the deepest affliction, he acted with great severity towards all whom he suspected of having envied his favourite's prosperity, or of rejoicing in his death: he specially suspected Eumenes, for he could not forget their frequent quarrels; but Eumenes was a man who knew how to suit himself to circumstances, and he borrowed the remedy of his disgrace from the very name which had caused it. He warmly encouraged the zeal of Alexander in honouring Hephæstion's memory, suggested numerous devices for that purpose, and generously offered prodigious sums of money for the erection of a splendid sepulchre.

3. When Alexander himself was dead, a serious dispute arose between the army and the court. Eumenes' heart was with the court; but in his public discourse he affected neutrality, professing that it did not become him who was a foreigner, to meddle with the disputes of the Macedonians. When the other friends of Alexander departed from Babylon, he remained in the city, where he succeeded in disposing the body of the infantry posted there to agree with the rest. When the generals met, after the calming of the storm, to divide the satrapies and provinces among them, Eumenes obtained Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, bounded by the sea of Pontus as far as Trapezus. These countries were not, then, under the power of the Macedonians; for Ariarathes was king; but it was ordered that Leonnatus and Antigonus should conduct Eumenes thither with a powerful army, to drive out Ariarathes, and to settle Eumenes in the government. Antigonus, elated by prosperity, and despising all men, refused to obey the letters of Perdiccas; but Leonnatus, coming down from the upper provinces into Phrygia, undertook this expedition on behalf of Eumenes. Hecatæus, tyrant of the Cardians, however, besought Leonnatus rather to go to the relief of Antipater and the Macedonians then besieged at Lamia in Thessaly. Leonnatus was desirous of following this suggestion: he invited Eumenes to join him; and he endeavoured to reconcile him to Hecatæus; for Hecatæus and Eumenes inherited some political differences from their fathers; Eumenes had openly accused Hecatæus of making himself tyrant of Cardia, and he had prayed Alexander to set the Cardians, his fellow-countrymen, at liberty. For this reason Eumenes objected to the expedition against the Greeks; and he added, that he feared that Antipater would kill him, to gratify his own enmity and that of Hecatæus. Leonnatus then opened his whole mind to Eumenes. He told him that the design of assisting Antipater was only a pretence; that his real object was to obtain for himself the government of Macedonia; and he showed him letters from Cleopatra, Alexander's sister, in which she urged him to come to Pella as her future husband.

4. Eumenes, either really fearing Antipater, or distrusting the inability of Leonnatus, took his departure that night with three hundred horses, two hundred servants, all

well armed, and five thousand talents of gold. With these he went to Perdiccas, to whom he discovered the designs of Leonnatus. He was cordially received by Perdiccas, and admitted to his counsels. In a short time, he was conducted by Perdiccas at the head of an army to Cappadocia. Ariarathes was taken prisoner; the province was subdued; and Eumenes was declared satrap. At once, he divided the cities of Cappadocia among his friends, who received the various offices of judges, prefects, and commissioners, Perdiccas taking no part whatever in this arrangement. After this, Eumenes departed from Cappadocia with Perdiccas, desiring to show his attachment to him by being present at his court. But Perdiccas, feeling that he could accomplish his own objects by himself, and knowing that the provinces he left behind him required the presence of a firm and faithful governor, sent Eumenes back from Cilicia, apparently for the purpose of attending to his own province, but in reality to hold Neoptolemus in check in the neighbouring province of Armenia.

5. Neoptolemus was a man of great pride and arrogance; but Eumenes contrived to keep him to his allegiance by gentle words. Eumenes, seeing that the Macedonian infantry had become insolent and unmanageable, determined to raise a respectable body of cavalry for the purpose of keeping them in order. With this view, he exempted from taxes such of the Cappadocians as were in a condition to join this body. He bought a large number of horses, which he gave to those of his court in whom he could confide; kindling their courage by honours and gifts, and training them for service by constant exercises and reviews. Some of the Macedonians were taken by surprise, and others became more zealous in their duties when they saw among them, in so short a time, not less than six thousand three hundred well appointed and well disciplined cavalry.

6. When Craterus and Antipater had subdued the Greeks, and marched towards Cappadocia to ruin the power of Perdiccas, Perdiccas, being engaged in a war with Ptolemy, appointed Eumenes over all the forces in Cappadocia and Armenia; and he wrote to Alcetas and Neoptolemus, urging them to place themselves at the disposal of Eumenes. Alcetas openly refused, because the Macedonians under his command were ashamed to fight

against Antipater, and were so devoted to Craterus that they were ready to embrace his cause. As for Neoptolemus, it was manifest he intended to betray Eumenes, for he drew up his troops to attack him. Eumenes now enjoyed the firstfruits of his foresight in raising his new cavalry. His Macedonian phalanx was broken; but with his cavalry he defeated Neoptolemus, and took his baggage; and falling upon his scattered infantry, he made them join his army, after having taken an oath of fidelity. Neoptolemus gathered some fugitives, and fled with them to Craterus and Antipater. Craterus and Antipater had already sent ambassadors to Eumenes to detach him from Perdiccas, promising to continue to him the provinces he held, and to add others to them, if he would become the friend, instead of being the enemy of Antipater, and would continue his friendship for Craterus. Eumenes replied to these proposals,—that being the ancient enemy of Antipater, he would not become his friend at a time when he saw him treating his friends as enemies; that "he was ready to reconcile Craterus to Perdiccas on just conditions; but that if they attacked anything belonging to Perdiccas, he would defend him with his last breath, and sacrifice his life rather than his fidelity." As Craterus and Antipater were deliberating at their leisure on this reply, Neoptolemus joined them, told them the loss of his battle, and called on them to help him, especially assuring Craterus, that as soon as the Macedonians heard his voice they would join him. In fact, Craterus enjoyed a high reputation. After Alexander's death, the greater part of the Macedonians desired to have him at their head, remembering that from love to them he had endured many indignities at Alexander's hands; for when he saw him affecting the manners of the Persians, he had the courage to oppose him by maintaining the customs of his own country.

7. Craterus sent Antipater into Cilicia, while he himself marched the bulk of his army, with Neoptolemus, against Eumenes, hoping to surprise him reposing after his late victory. But Eumenes foresaw their coming, and was prepared. He spread a report among his own soldiers, that Neoptolemus was returning, with Pigus, at the head of Paphlagonian and Cappadocian cavalry. Many times he

was on the point of discovering to his principal officers who the enemy really was that was coming against them, feeling that this was too important a secret to be kept within his own breast; but he adhered to his first resolution. In drawing up for battle, he avoided placing any Macedonians to meet Craterus, fearing that if they knew him they might desert to him; but he ordered two troops of foreign cavalry to advance against him, and come at once to close combat, without speaking or listening to any herald. Eumenes placed himself at the head of three hundred select cavalry, to meet Neoptolemus. When they had passed a small hill which separated the armies from each other, they charged with such force that Craterus bitterly reproached Neoptolemus, believing that he had deceived him with the flattering expectation that he would be joined by many of the Macedonians as soon as he appeared. He urged his officers to give that day the best proofs of their courage. By the first shock their lances were broken, and they came to swords. Craterus did not dishonour the memory of Alexander. With his own hand he killed many of the enemy, and he turned back many that were making head against him. At length he fell from his horse, wounded by a side thrust from a Thracian. The whole cavalry of the enemy passed over him without recognising him, until Gorgias, one of Eumenes' lieutenants, seeing him, sprang from his horse, and placed a guard around him. At that moment, Neoptolemus charged the wing which was led by Eumenes. They hated each other, and made two attempts to meet; the third time they recognised each other, and both spurred their horses with loud cries. The meeting of their horses was like the grappling of two war-ships. Dropping the bridles, each of them grasped the other, and tried to tear off the helmet or the breast-plate of his enemy. While their hands were thus employed, their horses escaped from under them; and without losing their hold, they fell together wrestling to the ground. Neoptolemus was the first to attempt to rise; but Eumenes wounded him in the knee, and stood above him. Neoptolemus supported himself on his other knee, and fought bravely, without being able to strike a fatal blow; but receiving a gash in his throat, he fell prostrate on the earth. Eumenes took

his armour from him, and while he spent his rage in angry reproaches, he received a wound in the groin; but it was given so feebly by his dying enemy, that Eumenes was not seriously hurt by it. Wounded in his thighs and arms, he remounted his horse, and pushed his way to the left wing of his army, where he supposed the enemy was still in force. On learning the state of Craterus, he went to him, and found him still breathing, and sensible; he dismounted, gave him his right hand, and wept, cursing Neoptolemus, who had brought on him the wretched necessity of mortal conflict with one of his best friends.

8. Eumenes won this battle ten days after the former. This victory added greatly to his fame, as he had conquered one of his enemies by his prudence, and the other by his valour; at the same time, it stirred up the envy of his enemies, and even of his allies, who took it ill that by Macedonian weapons and hands a stranger had destroyed their most illustrious man. Had the news of the death of Craterus been borne more speedily to Perdiccas, no other person would have thought of ascending the Macedonian throne; but the intelligence did not reach his camp, in Egypt, until twelve days after he had been killed in a sedition. The Macedonians instantly condemned Eumenes to death, and Antigonus and Antipater were commissioned to execute the sentence. Meanwhile Eumenes took as many horses as he needed from the king's stud, grazing on Mount Ida, sending an account of them to the proper officers. It is reported that Antipater laughed when he heard of this, saying, that he admired the prudence of Eumenes in calculating that he should have either to receive or give an account of the king's property.

9. It was Eumenes' intention to meet his enemies on the Lydian plains near Sardis, because his cavalry could act there with advantage, and because he was ambitious of displaying his power in the presence of Cleopatra; but that princess, fearing that if he awaited the arrival of his enemies, Antipater would accuse her of supporting him, prevailed on Eumenes to march into Upper Phrygia, and pass the winter at Celænæ: but there Alcetas, Polemon, and Docimus disputed with him the command of the army. "So it is," said Eumenes, "according to the common saying, men have no thought of the destruction which

awaits them." He had promised his soldiers to pay them within three days; but not having money to fulfil his promise, he sold by auction the villages and castles of that region, with all the cattle and slaves. The chief who bought a castle employed the battering-engines supplied by Eumenes, took the place by force, and divided the plunder among the soldiers, in proportion to their claims. By this means, he so established himself in the affection of the whole army, that when the soldiers found papers which had been carefully distributed throughout the camp by the enemy's officers, offering a hundred talents and high honours to any one who would kill Eumenes, they were enraged, and instantly appointed a body-guard of the principal officers to attend him night and day. Not an officer among them declined this duty. They were happy to receive from Eumenes such marks of distinction as the Macedonian kings had bestowed on their friends.

10. The conduct of Eumenes, celebrated by Plutarch as that of "a firm and noble mind, excited to magnanimity by misfortune," will be very differently regarded when beheld in the light of the word of God, which denounces evil, whatever form it assumes or name it bears, while it commends all that is truly just and kind. Eumenes, having lost a great battle, which he fought with Antigonus in the country of the Oregnians, in Cappadocia, by the treachery of one of his own officers, pursued the traitor, to prevent his escaping to the enemy, and when he overtook him, hanged him on the spot. At another time, he turned short in the course in which the enemy was pursuing him, returned by another way to the battle-field, collected the bodies of his slain, and burned them with the timber taken from the doors and windows of the surrounding towns and villages. He burned the officers in one pile, and the soldiers in another; and after raising large mounds of earth for their monuments, he proceeded on his march. Antigonus arriving at the same camp not long after, was amazed at his boldness and strength of mind. After this, Eumenes fell in with the baggage of Antigonus, when he could easily have taken a great number of freemen and their slaves, together with the riches which Antigonus had amassed in his wars and devastations; but he feared that his people, laden with such a quantity of rich booty,

would be unfit for flight, and too impatient to await the advantage of time, in which he had placed all his hopes; for he had no doubt that Antigonus would at last become weary of pursuing him. It was not an easy matter to keep the Macedonians from the spoils which thus seemed to invite their rapacity. Eumenes ordered his troops to refresh themselves and their horses before they marched against the enemy; and while they were thus engaged, he sent a secret express to Menander, the leader of the escort to the baggage of Antigonus, to say to him, that he was moved by his friendship for him to advise him immediately to quit the place where he could be surrounded in a moment, for the foot of the neighbouring mountain, where the cavalry could not act, and where his rear would be protected. This advice was scarcely put into practice, when Eumenes sent forward his scouts, and ordered his cavalry to lose no time in advancing against the enemy. While they were preparing their horses, the scouts brought back the report that Menander had reached a place of safety. Eumenes, pretending to be vexed at the disappointment, led off his forces.

11. It is said that Menander was one day relating this transaction to Antigonus, when the Macedonians, who were present, broke out into warm praises of Eumenes for his forbearance when their wives and children were in his power; but Antigonus said,—"It was not for your sake, my lucky friends, that he abstained, but for fear of hampering himself in his retreat."

12. From this time, Eumenes, being obliged to lead a wandering life, induced a great part of his army to leave him, partly out of regard to their safety, and partly from regard to his own; for he was unwilling to have a body of followers who were too numerous for a secret retreat, but too few to be of use to him in fighting. Retaining only five hundred horse, and two hundred infantry, he withdrew to Nora, a small fortification on the borders of Lycaonia and Cappadocia. Even there he permitted those of his followers, who could not bear the privations of the place, to withdraw, and took leave of them with affectionate embraces.

13. In a few days, Antigonus arrived at Nora. Before forming the siege, he invited Eumenes to a friendly interview. Eumenes answered that Antigonus had many friends

with him who could succeed him in the command of the army if he fell, but that for himself there were none of those whom he defended that could supply his place, and therefore Antigonus must send hostages before he could come down to speak to him. When Antigonus said, that "he ought to come to him as his superior," Eumenes answered,—"So long as I can use my sword, I own no man as my superior." Antigonus, obliged to yield his point, sent his own nephew, Ptolemaus. Eumenes then came down. They embraced each other with much tenderness, for they had formerly lived in the closest friendship. Their interview lasted a long time. Eumenes said nothing of his personal safety, or of forgiveness for the past, but demanded that his satrapies and other rewards should be granted to him. All present were struck with admiration of his spirit and firmness. The Macedonians crowded to see the man of whom the army had spoken more than of any other since the death of Craterus. Antigonus, fearing lest any violence should happen, ordered them to keep at a distance, and drove them back with stones. At last, seizing Eumenes in his arms, and dispersing the crowd by his guards, he carried him with much difficulty to his fortress, and placed him beyond the reach of danger.

14. When Antigonus had surrounded the place with walls, he left some troops to carry on the siege, and took his departure. Eumenes, shut up in his little fortification, had an abundant supply of corn, water, and salt, but no other food or condiments; yet out of such provision as he had he prepared cheerful entertainment for his friends, inviting them all to his table in turn, and seasoning their food with his graceful familiarity and his engaging conversation;—for he had a beautiful countenance, and a noble figure; and though not a forcible speaker, his words were placid and fascinating, as may be gathered from his epistles. The place indeed was extremely incommodious: a space of not more than a quarter of a mile, crowded with small buildings, in which neither men nor horses could take exercise. To relieve the languor which both men and horses suffered from their close confinement, and to render them fitter for flight when occasion offered, he gave the largest room in the fort, which was only fourteen cubits long, as a place of exercise for the men, ordering them to

increase the violence of their walking by degrees. The horses were fastened with strong ropes to the top of the stables, and their heads and foreparts were raised by pulleys, till they could reach the ground only with their hind feet. They were then excited by their keepers with shouts and whips, till by the violence of their efforts they were out of breath and covered with foam. In this manner they were exercised, for agility or strength. They were then fed with barley, which was boiled, that they might more quickly and perfectly digest it.

15. While the siege of Nora still continued, Antigonus heard of the death of Antipater in Macedonia, and of the troubled state of affairs in that country, in consequence of the dissensions of Cassander and Polysperchon. Abandoning all inferior objects, that he might grasp the whole Macedonian empire, Antigonus was anxious to conciliate Eumenes, and to have his assistance. For this purpose, he sent Hieronymus to make terms with him by means of an oath which he had drawn up. Eumenes submitted to the judgment of the Macedonians engaged in besieging him, whether the oath would not be more just if it were altered. Antigonus had made only a slight reference in the beginning of the oath to the royal family of Alexander, but all the rest of the oath related only to himself. Instead of this, Eumenes mentioned the queen Olympias first, with the princes, her children, and he proposed to swear allegiance not to Antigonus only, but to Olympias and her sons, taking all their friends as his friends, and all their enemies as his enemies. The Macedonians agreed with Eumenes that his oath was more just, and accepted it in the corrected form: they then raised the siege, and sent to Antigonus that he might also give his oath to Eumenes.

16. Eumenes restored to the Cappadocians the hostages he had at Nora. In return, he received from them horses, beasts of burden, and tents. He then sought out the soldiers who had been scattered during his retreat throughout that region; so that he had about a hundred cavalry, with which he departed, fearing, not without reason, the wrath of Antigonus; for he ordered the Macedonians to renew the siege, and sharply rebuked them for accepting the altered oath. During his flight from Nora, Eumenes received letters from those in Macedonia who viewed with

alarm the growing power of Antigonus, in which Olympias besought him to come and take charge of her young son Alexander; while Philip, Alexander's successor, and Polysperchon, ordered him to proceed with the army of Cappadocia against Antigonus, and to take from the royal treasury at Quinda, in Caria, five hundred talents, to repair his own losses, together with as much as he pleased for carrying on the war. Letters were sent also from Philip and Polysperchon to Antigenes and Teutamus, the prefects of the Silver Shields, who when they received them met Eumenes with friendly language, but bursting with envy and jealousy against a man under whom they disdained to serve. Eumenes allayed their envy by declining to take the money from the treasury, saying he did not need it. To soften their ambitious jealousy—for they were too proud to obey, yet too feeble to command—he had recourse to superstition. He told them that Alexander had appeared to him in a dream, showing him a pavilion royally furnished, in which was a throne; and that he said if they would hold their councils in that pavilion, he would be present with them, and prosper all their undertakings. By this pagan device he managed to conciliate the prefects. They prepared a magnificent pavilion with a throne, which they called the Throne of Alexander, where they met to transact their most important public business.

17. In passing to the Upper Provinces, Eumenes and his colleagues were joined by Peucestas, a friend of Eumenes, and by other satraps, who strengthened the Macedonian army by the number of their troops, and added to its pomp by the splendour of their appearance and the largeness of their stores; but these satraps had lived in such barbaric luxury and tyranny since the death of Alexander that they could not now agree among themselves; and they lavished such extravagant gifts on the Macedonians for their feasts and sacrifices that their camp became a scene of unbounded dissipation, where military offices were obtained by courting the favour of the veteran soldiers, as if the army had been a democracy.

18. Eumenes saw that while these satraps despised one another they were all afraid of him, and only waited their opportunity to kill him. He, therefore, professed to be greatly in want of money, and borrowed large sums from

those who hated him the most, that the fear of losing their money might lead them to put confidence in him, and deter them from any attacks upon his person: so that his enemies became his body-guard; and whereas others gave money to insure their safety, he insured his by borrowing.

19. So long as there was no danger at hand, the Macedonians sold themselves to those who bribed them by gifts, and attended at the gates of those who were ambitious of being leaders. But as soon as Antigonus appeared with a large army, and their affairs cried loudly for a proper commander, not only did the crowd of soldiers look up to Eumenes, but every one of those who were so great in times of peace and luxury, cheerfully offered to submit entirely to his orders. When Antigonus attempted to pass the river Pasitigris, his movement was unknown to all the other officers placed in different stations for the purpose of opposing him. Eumenes alone met him, took four thousand prisoners, and filled the river with the bodies of the slain.

20. When Eumenes was seized with sickness, the Macedonians most plainly showed that however the other satraps might excel in festivals and banquets, they relied on Eumenes alone as a commander. Peucestas, who had given them a gorgeous feast in Persia, distributing to each man a sheep to offer in sacrifice, promised himself the supreme authority. As they marched against the enemy, it happened that Eumenes, deprived of sleep by a dangerous disease, was carried on a quiet litter at a distance from the noise of the army. They had not marched far when they saw the enemy descending from the hills into the plain. The advanced troops of Eumenes were so daunted by the brilliancy of the gilded arms reflecting the beams of the sun, the lofty towers on the backs of elephants, the purple vests with which the cavalry adorned their arms in battle, and the compact order in which they marched, that they halted;—shouting, "Let Eumenes be called; we will not take a step without having him for our leader;" and casting their shields on the ground, they exhorted one another to stand still, and to insist that their officers should not begin the battle without Eumenes. Eumenes hearing this, urged his bearers, and hastened into the midst of the army, drew back the curtains of his litter, and with an exulting counte-

nance, stretched out his right hand. At this sight, they saluted him in the Macedonian language, took up their shields, and smiting them with their spears, uttered a shout of victory, and challenged their enemies as men who knew that their leader was among them.

21. Antigonus, hearing from some prisoners that Eumenes was so ill, as to be carried in a litter, believed that he would have little trouble in beating the other generals, and hastened to the attack. But when he saw the admirable condition and order of the enemy, he stood for a long time rapt in astonishment. Presently, he saw the litter moving back and forward from one wing to the other, and, laughing aloud, as was his custom, he said to his friends, "It is that litter that is against us;" then retreating, he formed his entrenchments.

22. The Macedonians in the army of Eumenes had only had time to breathe a little, when they broke out again into factions. They insulted their officers, spread themselves for winter quarters over nearly the whole province of Gabene in Persia; so that there was a distance of more than a hundred and twenty miles between the front and the rear of their encampment. Antigonus heard of this, and hurried forth against them. He marched along a difficult but short road, in hope of coming on them thus dispersed, before their officers could bring them together. But in that wild region the tempests and the frosts compelled his troops to kindle fires both night and day. These could not be concealed. The astonished mountaineers sent messengers on swift dromedaries to Peucestas to tell him what they had seen. Peucestas, with the rest, was so frightened that he resolved on flight, intending to raise what men he could along the road. But Eumenes calmed their terror by engaging to keep Antigonus three days longer than they expected on the way. He ordered all the troops to assemble without delay; and accompanied by the other generals, he found an elevated spot, on which he directed fires to be kindled, to give it the appearance of an encampment. Antigonus was dismayed at the appearance of these fires, apprehending that the enemy had anticipated his movements. Fearing to engage fresh troops comfortably wintered with his worn and weary men, he left the shorter road, and led his army by the villages and towns, that they

might have leisure to recruit their strength. But when he met with no disturbance such as usually annoys an army retreating near an enemy, and learned from the nearest inhabitants that they had seen no army, but only the burning of numerous fires, he perceived he had been deluded by Eumenes, and in his vexation pushed on, determined to have a battle with him.

23. The greater part of the army that accompanied Eumenes now gathered round him, and in their admiration of his prudence called on him to take the sole command. Antigenes and Teutamus, the prefects of the Silver Shields, stung with envy, resolved on his destruction; and collecting most of the satraps and generals, deliberated on the time and manner of accomplishing their purpose, when they all agreed to avail themselves of his abilities in the approaching battle, and to cut him off immediately after. Eudemus, the keeper of the elephants, and Phædimus, secretly apprized Eumenes of this resolution; not from any good will to him, but to prevent the loss of the money he had borrowed from them. Eumenes thanked them for their conduct. As he entered his tent, he said to his friends, "I have to do with wild beasts." He then made his will, and tore up or burned all his papers, lest after his death any of the writers should be brought into trouble through them.

24. Having completed this business, Eumenes took counsel whether he should yield the victory to his enemies, or pass through Media and Armenia to invade Cappadocia; but he could decide on nothing whilst his friends were present. After tossing about many conflicting schemes, he drew up his army, addressed both the Greeks and Barbarians in exciting harangues, whilst he was himself stimulated by the phalanx and the Silver Shields, who boasted that no enemy could stand before them, for they were the oldest of the veterans of Philip and Alexander, who had never been beaten. Most of them were seventy years old: the youngest of them sixty. Hence, when they charged the troops of Antigonus, they cried out, "Wretches! you fight against your fathers!" and scattered the whole phalanx: none of them could stand; they were nearly all cut down; and Antigonus was totally defeated in that part of the field. But his cavalry was more successful. Through the shameful

negligence of Peucestas, he took all the baggage. His vigilance was greatly assisted by the nature of the ground, which was not deep nor hard, but covered with a light sand, like the seashore. The trampling of men and horses raised this sand like clouds of chalk, which thickened the air, and prevented the enemy from seeing what was going on.

25. After the battle, Teutamus sent some officers to Antigonus, begging that their baggage might be restored to them. Antigonus answered, that he would not only restore the baggage to the Silver Shields, but behave with the utmost liberality towards them in all things, on condition of delivering Eumenes to him. The Silver Shields formed the atrocious design of delivering Eumenes alive to his enemies. They crowded round him, when he had no suspicion; some lamenting their lost baggage, some exhorting him to be of good cheer as became a conqueror, most of them heaping reproaches on the other generals; then, rushing on him, they wrested his sword from him, and with a girdle bound his hands behind his back.

26. Nicanor was sent by Antigonus to receive Eumenes. He asked that he might be conducted through the Macedonian ranks, and that he might be permitted to address them, not in the way of entreaty or deprecation, but for their honour and advantage. Silence was secured. Eumenes stood in an elevated spot, and thus addressed them: "What trophy, ye basest of Macedonians, could Antigonus have wished to raise to your dishonour like that which you have raised against yourselves, by betraying your general? What! was it not base enough to confess yourselves vanquished for the sake of your baggage—as if victory were won by money, not by arms—without also sending your general as the price of bringing back your paltry goods? I am led forth unconquered, the conqueror of my enemies, betrayed by my companions. In the name of Jupiter and of the gods of oaths, kill me here yourselves; for though I were killed elsewhere, the deed will still be yours. Antigonus will not complain; for he seeks Eumenes dead, not living. But if you shrink from laying hands on me, loose one of mine, and it shall do the work. Or, if you will trust me with my sword, cast me bound to the wild beasts. When you have done this, I absolve you from all

guilt, as though you had been to me the most religious and honourable men."

27. While Eumenes was speaking, the remainder of the army were torn with anguish, and wept together; but the Silver Shields cried out, "Lead him away, and heed not his vain words; for it is better that this Chersonesian pest, who has ground down the Macedonians by endless wars, should be in trouble, than that the bravest veterans of Philip and Alexander—whose wives have now been three days in the hands of the enemy—should lose the reward of their unexampled toils in their old age, and beg their bread from others." They then hastened him away.

28. Antigonus was fearful of the crowd; for not a man was left in the camp. He sent ten of his strongest elephants, and ordered out large bodies of Median and Parthian spearmen, to disperse the multitude. Remembering his former friendship with Eumenes, he could not bear to have him brought into his presence; and when the officers who had charge of him asked how he would have him guarded, he answered, "Like an elephant or a lion." But in a little while he was touched with pity. He ordered his heavy chains to be taken off. He granted him the attendance of one of his servants, and permitted his friends to visit him, to refresh him. For many days, he held consultations respecting his prisoner, and listened to the speeches and promises of his own son, Demetrius, and of Nearchus the Cretan, who laboured hard to save the life of Eumenes; but all the rest of his council persuaded him to put him to death. It is related that Eumenes asked Onomarchus, who had him in charge, how it was that Antigonus, having his enemy in his power, did not either at once dispatch him, or generously dismiss him. Onomarchus contemptuously replied, "That he ought to have braved death in battle, not in the prison." "By Hercules," said Eumenes, "I did. Ask those who fought with me: I met with no man braver than myself." Then Onomarchus rejoined, "Therefore, now that you have found your master, what if you abide his time?"

29. As soon as Antigonus had resolved on his death, he ordered that all food should be kept from him, and for two or three days he was thus slowly dying of hunger; but as the army was obliged suddenly to shift its quarters, he

sent some one to kill him. Antigonus gave the body to the friends of Eumenes, with permission to burn it, and to send his ashes in a silver urn to his wife and children.

30. When Eumenes was thus destroyed, the punishment of those officers and soldiers who betrayed him was not long delayed. Antigonus himself, detesting the Silver Shields for their barbarous conduct, gave them up to Ibyrtias, governor of Arachosia, to be put to death in every horrid form, so that not one of them might return to Macedonia, or look again upon the sea of Greece.

31. These adventures of Eumenes have somewhat of a romantic character. We scarcely meet with another man among the Greeks who pressed through so many difficulties to become illustrious, and whose most brilliant successes were in reality so disastrous to himself. He loved the sword, and by the sword he perished. He was skilful in stratagems, and he fell a victim to the envious schemes of his associates. Whatever gratification there may be in the excitements of war, and in the glory which attends it, the misery of the greatest conquerors has been a dreadful price to pay for them. Such gratifications and such glory belong to but a low condition of human society, sinking human beings to the level of lions and elephants. It is by peace, not war—by humility, not pride—by meekness, not revenge – by love, not force—that man is to be tamed. The noblest armies are those who suffer, and entreat—who forgive their enemies, and pray for them.

32. And such are they who follow the Prince of the kings of the earth. Their strength lies in the calmness with which they hold fast the truth. Their Leader is wise, and he is invincible. Once, indeed, the traitor's kiss profaned his cheek. By those whom he came to bless he was taken, and with "wicked hands was crucified and slain." But on his cross he cried, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." And, after he rose from the dead, to them he sent the first proclamation of mercy; and through his blood, not a few obtained forgiveness of the sin which shed it. Oh how incomparably more touching are the narratives of the evangelists than those of Plutarch! What a contrast between the hero of Chersonesus and the Prophet of Nazareth! How different the feeling with which we read of the one from that with which we are permitted

to regard the other! It is happiness unspeakable to feel that Jesus has become our Surety; that by his sorrows we are comforted; and that by his death we live. To what better use can our hearts be given than to become, like precious urns, filled with the memory of his passion, and testifying to those who are near, and to those who are far off, the greatness of his love to us, and the tenderness of our love to him? This is the best history. It is sacred. It is true. It is written by the finger of God. It shall be read of all men.

LIFE OF ARATUS.

B.C. 240.

1. The state of the Sicyonians was originally founded by the Dorians. The government which they set up was broken by factions and seditions, and for a long time the citizens were harassed by a succession of tyrants. When the tyrant Cleon was destroyed, the people committed their affairs to the guidance of Timocleidas and Cleinias, the most illustrious and respected of their fellow-citizens. Their affairs were beginning to wear a more settled aspect, when Timocleidas died. Abantidas, the son of Paseas, took advantage of the death of Timocleidas, to seize the reins of government. He killed Cleinias, and either banished or destroyed all his friends. Cleinias had a son, not more than seven years old, who made his escape during the disorder occasioned by his father's death. As he wandered, affrighted and helpless, through the city of Sicyon, he entered, without being noticed, the house of a woman whose name was Soso. Soso was a sister to the usurper Abantidas, the murderer of the boy's father; but she had been married to Prophantus the brother of Cleinias. She was a noble-minded woman; and, believing that the little orphan had been directed to her house by Heaven, she hid him there until night, and then sent him secretly away to Argos.

2. This child was Aratus. His father's friends at Argos brought him up with great care. Being of a strong frame, he won the crown five times in the usual exercises of his

nation. As he drew near to manhood, he engaged the attention of the exiles from Sicyon. They looked to him as their natural leader. By this time, Abantidas, from whom Aratus had escaped in his childhood, had been killed; and his father Paseas, who succeeded his son in the tyranny, had been supplanted by Nicocles. To destroy Nicocles, who was inflicting the most grievous evils on the people, Aratus sought the help of those princes who had been his father's friends. Antigonus promised to help him, but did not keep his word. He hoped for more success from Ptolemy, king of Egypt, but, disappointed and wearied out with delay, he resolved to do the work himself.

3. Aratus began by opening his intention to Demophanes and Ecdemus: Demophanes was one of the exiles from Sicyon. Ecdemus—an exile from Megalopolis—was a practical philosopher, who had been a pupil of Arcesilaus in the Academy at Athens. Both of these entered into the designs of Aratus. He then called together other exiles from Sicyon. A few of these were ashamed to abandon the prospects which he placed before them, and they joined him; but the greater part of them regarded him as a rash and inexperienced youth, and endeavoured to dissuade him from his project.

4. While Aratus was looking about for some position in the territory of Sicyon from which he might attack the tyrant, a citizen of Sicyon, who made his escape from prison, came to Argos. It was the brother of Xenocles, one of the exiles associated with Aratus. Xenocles brought his brother to Aratus, to whom he explained, that the part of the city wall by which he had fled from Sicyon was nearly level with the ground on the inside, and not very difficult to mount by means of ladders. Aratus immediately sent Xenocles with two of his own slaves to examine the wall, determined to run all the risks of a secret undertaking, rather than those of a long war carried on by a private person against the tyrant. Xenocles and the two slaves measured the wall, and returned with a report that the place was by no means difficult; but that the approach to it was dangerous, on account of some little dogs belonging to a gardener in the neighbourhood, that were very fierce and noisy. Aratus went to work without loss of time. It was no difficult matter to provide themselves with

arms without exciting any suspicions, since they were used generally, because of the disturbed state of the country. Nor had they more difficulty in providing ladders; for Euphranor, one of their own number, was a carpenter. Each of Aratus's friends in Argos offered him ten men; he armed thirty of his own slaves, and, by the assistance of Xenophilus, who commanded a band of robbers, he secured some of his people, who, under the pretext of carrying off the king's mares, were sent by different roads to the Tower of Polygnotus, between Argos and Nemea, to await his arrival. Cephesias was sent forward in the dress of a traveller, with four others. They were ordered to go, at dark, to the gardener's house, near the wall of Sicyon, and, pretending they were travellers, they were to divert the man, until they had an opportunity of shutting him up, together with his little dogs, for there was no other way of approaching that part of the wall. The ladders, made in separate pieces, and packed in boxes, were sent forward in wagons.

5. During these preparations, some spies from Nicocles appeared in Argos; and it was said that they were secretly watching the movements of Aratus. By the morning light Aratus showed himself, walking about with his friends, in the Forum. From thence he went to the place of public exercise, and returned home with some youths who were accustomed to join him in his diversions. His slaves were soon seen moving about, one carrying chaplets, another bringing torches, and another talking with the women who were hired to sing and play musical instruments at feasts. When the spies saw all this, they were deceived, and laughing among themselves, they said, "Surely a tyrant must be the most timid of creatures, since Nicocles, the master of so great a city and so many men, is afraid of a youth who spends his exile's allowances in drinking and enjoying himself throughout the day."

6. Aratus arose from dinner, and joined the men who were waiting for him at the tower of Polygnotus. As they marched towards Nemea, on the road between Argos and Sicyon, he acquainted them all with his real object. He made them large promises, exhorted them, and having given them "Apollo" as the watchword, he marched towards the city, so as to reach the garden near the wall at the setting of the moon. Here Cephesias met him,

and told him that he had not been able to secure the dogs, but that he had confined the gardener. This intelligence threw most of the party into consternation; and they begged Aratus to give up the attempt; but he encouraged them to persevere, assuring them that if these dogs should greatly molest them, he would desist. At the same time, he ordered those who had charge of the ladders to move forward, under the direction of Ecdemus, and he himself came up quietly after them. The dogs began to bark violently, and followed Ecdemus. Still they reached the wall, and securely planted the ladders. Some of them had already mounted, when the city guard, which was about to be relieved, passed close by them in its morning round, sounding a bell, carrying torches, and making a great noise; but the scaling party clung so quietly to their ladders, that they were not noticed. They were again in danger when the relieving guard came up, but once more escaped detection. Ecdemus now mounted the wall, and making sure of the road right and left, sent Technon to urge Aratus to press on. Not far from the wall there was a tower, in which was a great hunting dog. It appears that this dog did not hear them as they climbed the wall, but he was roused by the barking of the gardener's dogs, and began a low growl; and when he heard the steps of men passing the tower, he howled with all his might. The sentinel who was below called out to the huntsman, "What is that dog howling about? what is the matter?" The huntsman answered him, "It is nothing but the sound of the bell, and the glare of the torches, which had frightened him out of his sleep." Nothing encouraged the soldiers so much as this answer; for they believed that this huntsman was aware of their undertaking, and they hoped to find many of the same mind within the city. But those who were now about to climb were in great danger. They lost much time, because the ladders swung so, that they were obliged to mount very cautiously, and only one by one. The day was breaking; the cocks began to crow; the market people from the country were arriving. When Aratus had made about forty of his men go up before him, he followed, and waited for only a few of the remainder. He marched instantly to the palace of the tyrant, where the foreign troops were on

guard: coming on them by surprise, he took them all prisoners. He sent to his different friends throughout the city, inviting them to join him. These ran to him from all quarters. By the earliest daylight, the theatre was crowded with people who had come together in uncertainty and suspense, until a herald came forward and proclaimed, "Aratus, son of Cleinias, calls you all to liberty."

7. The people of Sicyon believed that the day had now come for which they had long been waiting. They ran to the tyrant's palace, and set it on fire; the flames were so fierce that they were seen at Corinth, and the Corinthians, astonished at the sight, but ignorant of the cause, had thoughts of sending assistance. Nicocles made his escape from the city by some underground passages. The soldiers helped to extinguish the fire, and plundered the forsaken palace; Aratus did not forbid them, but distributed all the treasures of the tyrants among the citizens.

8. Not a man was killed, or even wounded, on either side in this action: it was unstained with blood. Aratus called home the exiles, forty of whom had been banished by Nicocles, and of those banished by former tyrants not fewer than five hundred, many of whom had been wandering, some of them nearly fifty years. Most of these came home in poverty. As they asserted their claims to their former possessions, Aratus was thrown into great perplexity. Without, he saw Antigonus regarding the freedom of Sicyon with an envious eye; and within, nothing but disturbance and disorder. Pressed by these difficulties, he thought the best thing he could do would be to join the Achæans.

9. When Aratus and the state of Sicyon were admitted to the Achæan League, he served in the cavalry. The magistrates were charmed with the obedience of a man who, though he had done so much for the League, by adding to it the strength of his own name, and the resources of his country, was as submissive as any private soldier to the general chosen every year by the Achæans, whether he belonged to Dima, or Tritta, or even to obscurer places.

10. The exiles who had returned to Sicyon, however, brought the state to the verge of ruin by their clamorous demands for the restitution of their property. Aratus saw his only hope in the liberality of the king of Egypt;

and he resolved on a voyage to Egypt, to ask Ptolemy to supply him with as much money as would enable him to restore peace to the state. He embarked at Methonæ, above the promontory of Malea, hoping to have a short passage; but the wind was contrary, and the sea ran so high, that the ship was driven in distress to Andria a town which was in the possession of Antigonus. To avoid this powerful enemy, Aratus left his ship, and went as far as he could from the shore, accompanied only by his friend Timanthes. They passed a wretched night in the shelter of a thick wood. They had scarcely left the ship when the prefect of the Macedonian garrison came to inquire for Aratus; but the servants of Aratus deceived him, by telling him that their master had sailed for Eubœa. The ship was declared a prize of war, and, with everything on board, was seized. Aratus continued for some days in this miserable state, at one time looking out to see if there was any way of escape, and at another doing his best to hide himself. At length, when he was almost at his wit's end, a Roman ship came to the place. She was bound for Syria. Aratus prevailed on the commander to take him on board, and to land him in Caria. After encountering another tempest, he found that he had still a long voyage from Caria to Egypt.

11. He at last reached Egypt. The king of Egypt was disposed to give him a favourable reception, because of the paintings which he had sent him from Greece, especially the works of the great masters who excelled in that art at Sicyon. He further won upon Ptolemy by the attractions of his conversation. The king presented to the state of Sicyon a hundred and fifty talents. Aratus brought forty talents away with him on his return home, and the rest was sent in separate portions at different times. It was the glory of Aratus to employ so large a sum of money in reconciling the citizens, when for much smaller sums their generals and popular leaders betrayed the interests of their country; and the glory was all the greater that by this means he was enabled to satisfy both the poor and the rich, and to secure the blessings of internal peace to an entire people. The moderation displayed by a man who had so much power in his hands is deserving of our admiration. Though he was appointed the sole arbiter of the

claims of the impoverished exiles, he declined acting by himself, but chose fifteen associates from among the citizens of Sicyon. After great labour, he had the happiness of promoting contentment and harmony among all classes. In acknowledgment of his great services in this business, his fellow-citizens rewarded him with due honours. In addition to this, the restored exiles erected his statue in bronze, and placed on it the following inscription in elegiac verses:

"Far as the pillars which Alcidas reared,
Thy counsels and thy deeds in arms for Greece
The tongue of Fame has told: but we, Aratus,
We wanderers, whom thou hast restored to Sicyon,
Will sing thy justice, place thy pleasing form,
As a benignant power, with gods that save.
For thou hast given that dear equality,
And all the laws which favouring Heaven might give."

12. By these honourable actions and rewards, Aratus was raised above all envy on the part of the people at home; but Antigonus, vexed at his success, was determined to gain him over to his own cause, or, if not, to render him an object of suspicion to the king of Egypt. He loaded him with tokens of his regard, though he neither sought them nor accepted them. At one time, when Antigonus was offering sacrifices to the gods at Corinth, he sent portions to Sicyon to do honour to Aratus; and at the feast which followed the ceremony, he said publicly, "I had thought of this young Sicyonian merely as a person of a noble spirit, devoted to the interests of his own people. But I now see in him a sagacious judge of the conduct of princes. At first, he made little account of us, because his hopes were built on foreign aid, and he cast his eye on Egypt, her wealth, her elephants, her fleet, her splendid court; but now he sees these things are no better than the decorations of a theatre, and he has come entirely over to our interest. I have myself embraced him with affection. I am resolved to help in all things; and I command you to regard him as my friend." The envious and malignant took occasion from these words of Antigonus to send heavy charges against Aratus in letters to Ptolemy. Ptolemy sent to expostulate with Aratus.

13. Aratus, being for the first time chosen general of the Achæan League, he ravaged the country of the Ionians, on the opposite side of the Corinthian Gulf, and the whole

territory of the Calydonians. He went, with ten thousand men to assist the Bœotians; but he did not arrive till after the battle, in which they were defeated by the Ætolians at Chæronea, with the loss of Abœcritus their general, and a thousand of the Bœotian soldiers. When he was appointed general of the League the second time, eight years after the first, Aratus resolved on attempting to gain possession of the Acrocorinthus, or citadel of Corinth, an enterprise which was for the advantage, not of Sicyon and the Achæans only, but of the whole of Greece, by rescuing it from the Macedonian domination. Chares the Athenian, after gaining a victory over the generals of the Persian king, wrote home that his victory was sister to that of Marathon. In like manner, this action of Aratus may be called sister to that of Pelopidas the Theban, or that of Thrasybulus the Athenian when they killed the tyrants of their cities: only that Aratus fought not against Greeks but against a foreign power. The Isthmus of Corinth, which separates the two seas, joins the continent of Greece to Peloponnesus, and the citadel of Corinth, on a high mountain, stands in the very middle of Greece, where the garrison has the entire command of the whole country, so that it was not in jest, but in perfect seriousness, that the younger Philip was accustomed to speak of the City of the Corinthians as "the Fetters of Greece."

14. The citadel of Corinth was always an object of great contention to its neighbours, especially to kings and governments. Antigonus's desire for possessing it was intensely strong. His whole mind was bent on the means of surprising it; for there was no hope of taking it by open assault. Alexander, who had charge of the citadel, died of poison, which report ascribed to Antigonus. After Alexander's death, the citadel continued to be held by Nicæa, his widow. But by marrying Nicæa to his son Demetrius, Antigonus succeeded in becoming master of the citadel, in which he placed a garrison commanded by Perseus the philosopher. During Alexander's life, Aratus had entertained the design of gaining this citadel, but he abandoned it when Alexander was admitted by the Achæans within their League. After it came into the possession of Antigonus, a new opportunity presented itself. There were four brothers, of Syrian origin at Corinth.

One of these, named Diocles, was a soldier in the garrison, the other three had been concerned in robbing the king Antigonus, and had retreated to Sicyon, where they applied to Ægias, a banker, with whom Aratus transacted business, and placed part of the king's gold which they had stolen in his hand, while the rest was brought to him privately, by Erginus, one of the three brothers. Erginus was thus brought into some familiarity with Ægias, who led him to speak of the citadel. He mentioned that, in going to the citadel to visit his brother, he had often noticed a winding path, cut in the steep part of the rock, which led to a part of the wall which was very low. At these words Ægias laughed at him and said, "And you, most excellent man, disturb the affairs of the king for a small quantity of money, when you could sell one hour of your time for an immense sum! If you are apprehended as robbers, will you not be punished with death, as surely as if you were apprehended as traitors?" Erginus smiled; and engaged to try his brother Diocles, for in the other brothers he could not as yet confide.

15. In a few days Erginus returned to Sicyon, and engaged to conduct Aratus to a place where the wall of the Corinthian citadel was not more than fifteen feet high, and to help him, together with his brother Diocles, in his undertaking. Aratus promised to give them sixty talents if they succeeded; and if they failed, but came off in safety, he was to give each of the two brothers a horse and one talent. As Aratus had not so much money, and was afraid of exciting suspicion by borrowing it, he left the greater part of his plate and of his wife's jewellery with Ægias, as security for the payment. Thus he surpassed Phocion and Epaminondas, who refused to receive presents; for he secretly pledged his private property to an undertaking in which he alone was exposed to danger, for the sake of those who were not even acquainted with his design.

16. The expedition, so perilous in itself, was rendered more so by an act of imprudence at the beginning. Technon, the slave of Aratus, was sent to assist Diocles in examining the wall. He did not know Diocles by sight; but he thought he could easily recognise him by the description which he had received from Erginus. When he had reached the appointed place, the elder

brother of Erginus, named Dionysius, who was very like Diocles, but who knew nothing of their plot, passed that way. Technon immediately asked him if he had anything to do with Erginus; he told him he was his brother. Without asking his name, or waiting for more assurance, Technon imagined that he was speaking to Diocles, and began to converse with him on the subject of his appointment with Erginus. Dionysius took advantage of his error, and speaking as if he were privy to the plot, accompanied Technon on the road to the city. As they drew near to the gate, Dionysius was about to apprehend Technon, when Erginus met them. Erginus quickly perceived the danger, and giving a sign to Technon, they both made their escape to Aratus. Instead of giving up his hopes, Aratus sent Erginus to Dionysius with some money, to bribe him to silence. Dionysius returned with Erginus to Aratus. Having got Dionysius in their power, they did not send him away, but put him under guard, while they went forward to their work.

17. All preparations being made, Aratus ordered his men to be under arms; and taking with him four hundred choice men, who were mostly unacquainted with his scheme, he led them to the gate near the temple of Juno. It was in the height of summer, on a clear night, in the full moon. They feared that the glitter of their arms would betray them; but they had scarcely reached the walls, when the city and the neighbourhood were covered with clouds arising from the sea. The men sat down to take off their sandals, that they might climb the ladders more quietly and with less danger of slipping. Erginus and seven young men with him, clothed as travellers, glided unobserved through the gate, and killed the sentinel and the guards. At the same time, Aratus and a hundred of his boldest followers scaled the wall: the rest followed, and drew up the ladders. At the head of his hundred men he marched like a conqueror to the citadel. On their way they fell in with a guard of four men, who carried a light, but who did not see them, as they kept in the shade. Aratus and his party hid themselves behind some ruined walls till this guard came up, when they killed three of them; but the fourth, who was wounded in the head, ran away, crying, "There are enemies within the

walls!" In a short time, the trumpets sounded the alarm, and the whole city was in commotion. The streets were thronged with idle crowds running in all directions. Lights were seen everywhere in the city below, and in the heights of the citadel: there was universal clamour. But Aratus pushed his way slowly up the rocks. He missed his path, which was hid under the craggy projections of the rock, and led to the walls by innumerable turnings. The moon, as it is said, cleared away the clouds, showed him the most difficult part of the ascent, and, when he reached the intended place, was again obscured.

18. The three hundred men left by Aratus near the temple of Juno entered the city while it was full of tumult and confusion. As they could not trace the steps of Aratus, they sheltered themselves on the dark side of a rock, in a state of anxiety and distress. They heard the noise of conflict echoed by the neighbouring hills, but could not discern from whence it came. As they were hesitating what course to take, Archelaus, the general of the king's forces, was ascending the hill with a large body of troops to attack Aratus. They passed the three hundred men of Aratus's party without seeing them; but they had no sooner gone by, than the Sicyonians rushed forth from their concealment, and killed those who were nearest to them. Archelaus and his troops were so alarmed that they retraced their steps, and were pursued by the assailants, till they were scattered throughout the city. As soon as they had dispersed these troops they were joined by Erginus, who came down from the party fighting in the citadel to tell them that Aratus was engaged in a fierce battle on the walls, and stood in need of instant help. They desired him to lead the way; and, as they went up, they shouted to encourage their companions. The full moon, reflected from their armour, as they winded up the long path, and the echo of their shouts amid the deep silence of the night, made them seem to the enemy a much larger body than they were. By a bold and united effort they repulsed the enemy, and they had conquered the citadel when the sun rose to adorn their victory. The remainder of Aratus's forces arrived from Sicyon. The Corinthians cheerfully opened their gates to them, and helped them to take the people of Antigonus prisoners.

19. When Aratus saw that all was safe, he came down from the citadel into the theatre. There a vast crowd assembled, eager to see him, and to hear his oration to the Corinthians. He arranged the Achæans on each side of the entrances, and came forward, armed, to the middle of the stage. His countenance was haggard with toil and watching, and the joy of his soul was oppressed by the languor of his body. The people received him with unbounded welcome. He grasped his spear in his right hand; and, leaning forward as he rested his body and his knee against it, he stood for a long time, receiving in silence the applauses and the joyous shouts of those who celebrated his courage, and extolled his success. When they became silent, and were seated, he gathered up his strength, and spoke to them of the Achæans in a manner that was suited to the action they had witnessed. He persuaded the Corinthians to join the League; at the same time, he delivered to them the keys of their gates, which had never been in their power since the time of Philip. The two generals of Antigonus had become his prisoners; Archelaus he set at liberty, but Theophrastus he put to death, because he refused to leave the city. Perseus had contrived to escape to Cenchrea whilst they were fighting for the citadel.

20. Aratus immediately took possession of the temple of Juno, and of the harbour of Lechæum, with twenty ships belonging to Antigonus. He likewise took five hundred horses, and sold five hundred Syrians. The Achæans placed in the citadel a garrison of four hundred armed men, with fifty dogs and fifty huntsmen.

21. The Romans so greatly admired Philopœmen that they called him the last of the Greeks; but this exploit of Aratus seems rather to be the last of the exploits of the Greeks, and equals any other in its boldness and in its success. The Megaræans separated from Antigonus, and united with Aratus; and their example was soon followed by the Trœzenians and the Epidaurians.

22. The first excursion made by Aratus from Peloponnesus was into Attica; from thence he crossed over to Salamis, where he used his Achæan troops like men escaped from confinement who did whatever he liked. He ransomed the Athenian prisoners without price, and thus sowed among them the first seeds of their revolt from the

Macedonians. He drew king Ptolemy into the League, by securing his appointment to the general direction of the war by sea and land. His own influence with the Achæans was so great, that though the law would not allow him to retain the command of the army every year, he was chosen every other year; and, in fact, he had the chief sway, by his counsel and direction, at all times.

23. When Aratus saw the bravest of his neighbours living in freedom and ruled by their own laws, he was grieved to behold the Argives oppressed by the tyranny of Aristomachus. It was in their city he had received his education, and he longed to set them free. He wished also to have them united with the Achæan League. He soon had a band of Argives ready to undertake the destruction of Aristomachus. Their leaders were Æschylus, and Charimenes the soothsayer; but the party had not a single sword among them, for the tyrant had forbidden any of the citizens, under heavy penalties, to have swords in their possession. Aratus got some small poniards made at Corinth, and sent them to Argos, mixed with the ordinary merchandise, conveyed by beasts of burden. Charimenes had associated one of his friends with him; upon which the rest of the conspirators took offence, left Charimenes, and resolved to carry out their design without him. Charimenes, perceiving their intention, was so enraged that he betrayed them as they were proceeding to destroy the tyrant. The greater part of them hastened to make their escape, and withdrew to Corinth.

24. Not a great while after, however, Aristomachus was killed by his own domestics; and before they put the public affairs into good order, Aristippus, a worse tyrant than Aristomachus, usurped the government. Aratus immediately took with him all the Achæans at hand that could bear arms, and hastened to Argos, expecting that the citizens would be ready to support him. But when he saw that the multitude had been accustomed by long habit to submit to slavery, and that none of them came over to him, he returned, having brought the Achæans under the reproach of taking up arms in a time of peace. They were summoned to answer this charge before the Mantinæans. As Aratus did not appear, Aristippus procured the condemnation of the Achæans; and they were fined thirty

minæ. As the tyrant both feared and hated Aratus, he entered into a plot with Antigonus for his destruction. Their emissaries and spies were employed in all directions. But Aratus was strong in the affection of his people. Aratus often attempted to rescue Argos from the tyranny of Aristippus. At one time he scaled the walls, with a small force, and killed the guards; but in the morning he was beset by the tyrant on every hand, and the people looked on patiently, as though he were contending at the Nemean games, instead of venturing his life for their liberty. Aratus was run through his thigh with a spear; yet he stood his ground so bravely against the superior force of the enemy through the whole day, that, if he had had strength to hold out through the night, his object would have been secured; for the tyrant had resolved on flight, and had sent away the greater part of his property to sea. No one, however, had informed Aratus of this; and as he was disabled by his wound, and was short of a supply of water, he took his men away.

25. Despairing of success by stratagem, Aratus invaded the territories of Argos. He fought a great battle with Aristippus, near the river Chares; but he was accused of losing the victory, by retiring too quickly from the field; for one part of his army had a decided advantage over the enemy, and pursued them to a considerable distance, while Aratus, distrustful of success, rather than be driven by his enemies, returned in disorder to the camp. When his men returned from the pursuit of the fugitives, they were indignant that, after routing the enemy, and killing a much larger number than they lost, the honour of raising a trophy of victory should be left to those whom they had vanquished. Ashamed of such a reproach, Aratus resolved to fight another battle for this trophy, on the second day after the first. But when he saw that Aristippus had increased the number of his soldiers, and that their courage was revived, he was afraid to encounter them, and, after obtaining a truce for the burial of the dead, he led his army home. Notwithstanding the blame which fell on Aratus for this affair, it was forgotten in the confidence inspired by his administration.

26. Aratus brought the city of Cleonæ into the Achæan League. He likewise transferred the Nemean games to

that city, to which they originally belonged. The Argives, however, celebrated these games in their own city: and for the first time the truce granted to all who repaired to the public festivals of Greece was violated; for the Achæans seized all who passed through their territories from the games at Argos.

27. Not long after the union of Cleonæ with the Achæan League, Aratus was told that Antippus was eager to take possession of that city, but that he was deterred from this purpose by his fear of Aratus, who now lived at Corinth, at but a short distance from Cleonæ. In order to deceive Aristippus, Aratus marched all his forces, with several days' provisions, to Cenchrea. Aristippus, supposing that Aratus was at a distance, immediately led his army from Argos against Cleonæ; but as soon as the evening began to darken, Aratus, unknown to Aristippus, disposed his guards along the road, entered Cleonæ with the Achæan army during the night, and prepared for battle. Early in the morning Aratus led his troops through the opened gates, with sound of trumpet and cries of victory, and soon put Aristippus and his army to flight. They pursued them as far as Mycenæ, where Aristippus was put to death by Tragiseus, a Cretan. Though Aratus had killed fifteen hundred of the enemy, without the loss of one man, and had destroyed Antippus, he did not gain possession of Argos, nor redeem that city from servitude; for Ægias and young Aristomachus had marched into the city with the king's troops, and seized the powers of government.

28. After the destruction of Aristippus, Aratus proceeded to overturn the tyranny of Lysiades at Megalopolis. Lysiades was not led to usurp power, like other tyrants, by avarice, or by the love of dissipation, but by a youthful passion for glory, and a false imagination that the enjoyment of uncontrolled dominion was the highest human happiness. But he soon grew weary of the troubles which his grandeur brought with it. He saw the prosperity of Aratus. He was afraid of his designs against him: he consequently changed his views, and formed the noble purpose of releasing himself as soon as possible from the trappings of state, and of devoting himself to the real interests of his country. He sent for Aratus, abdicated his sovereignty, and joined the city to the Achæan League.

The Achæans showed their admiration by electing him as their general. Ambitious of surpassing Aratus, Lysiades embarked in unnecessary enterprises; among others, in one against the Spartans. When Aratus opposed him, his opposition was ascribed to envy of a rival. In spite of Aratus, Lysiades was chosen general a second time, and a third time, enjoying that dignity alternately with Aratus. But when he openly declared himself the enemy of Aratus, and brought criminal charges against him before the Achæans, he was rejected; for he was believed to be contending with hollow pretensions against a man of sincere and genuine virtue. As Æsop says, "The cuckoo once asked the little birds why they fled from him? they answered, because they feared he might prove to be a hawk:" —so Lysiades was suspected of still cherishing the spirit of a tyrant, and of insincerity in the change which he had professed to make in his opinions.

29. The reputation of Aratus derived new lustre from the war with the Ætolians. The Achæans longed to attack them on the frontier of Megara, and Agis, king of Sparta, inflamed these desires. But Aratus strongly objected, and he bore with patience the taunts and insinuations that were heaped upon him, looking to the real advantage of his country, rather than to men's opinion of himself. He retired before the Ætolians, and allowed them quietly to pass over Mount Gerania into Peloponnesus; but when they took Pellene, he changed his purpose, and with such forces as were at hand he marched against them, while they were ransacking the city. The Ætolians had scarcely entered Pellene before the men disbanded, and fought among themselves for the plunder, while their officers captured the matrons and virgins, placing their helmets on the heads of the prisoners, to mark them as their own. It was when the Ætolians were thus employed, that they were suddenly told that Aratus was at hand. In the confusion and terror natural to men so situated, many were unacquainted with their danger, until those who flew before the Achæans from the gates and the approaches to the city, struck terror into those who were coming to their help.

30. One of the captive ladies was the daughter of Epigethes, an illustrious man: she was a woman of uncommon beauty, and of majestic appearance. As she sat in the

temple of Diana, where the captor had placed her for safety, with his helmet, having three waving plumes, on her head, she heard the din and confusion outside, and went to the gate of the temple. As she stood looking down on the combatants, the citizens believed that they saw a superhuman figure; and their enemies were so horrified by what they regarded as a divine appearance, that they could fight no longer.

31. At a time when many and strong nations were leagued against the Achæans, Aratus hastened to contract a friendly alliance with the Ætolians. With the assistance of Pantaleon, a man of the highest authority among the Ætolians, he entirely succeeded in this object. At a subsequent period, he fell into disgrace with the Achæans for attempting to surprise the harbour of the Piræus during the truce with the Macedonians; though, in his writings he lays the blame of this business on Erginus the Syrian, who had helped him to seize the citadel of Corinth. Still bent on restoring the liberty of Athens, he cherished the deepest hatred towards the Macedonians. In a battle which he fought near Phylacia with Bithys the general of Demetrius, there was one report that he was taken prisoner, and another that he was dead. Diogenes, who commanded at the Piræus, wrote to the Achæans, ordering them to give up Corinth, because Aratus was dead. Aratus happened to be at Corinth when these letters came, and the messengers had the mortification of making the Achæans very merry at their expense. Demetrius, son of Antigonus, now the king of Macedon, sent a ship to convey Aratus bound to Macedonia. The Athenians, who spared no means of flattering the Macedonians, crowned themselves with flowers, when they heard of the death of Aratus. Aratus, in his anger, advanced with his army as far as the Academy, but they appeased him by their prayers.

32. The clemency of Aratus endeared him to the Athenians. At the death of Demetrius, they resolved to make an effort for their freedom, and they summoned Aratus to assist them. At that time he was not the general of the Achæans, and he had long been confined by sickness to his bed; but he went to Athens in a litter. On his arrival, he persuaded Diogenes, the commander of the garrison, to give up the Piræus, Munychia, Salamis,

and Sunium to the Athenians for a hundred and fifty talents, of which Aratus himself presented to the city fifty talents. At the same time, the people of Ægina and the Hermionians joined the Achæans, and the greater part of Arcadia became tributary to the league.

33. The Macedonians were now fully occupied with war against their nearer neighbours, and the Achæan League was greatly strengthened by the accession of the Ætolians. Aratus, still pursuing his earliest scheme, was grieved to see the neighbouring city of Argos still in the hands of the tyrant. He sent messengers inviting Aristomachus to give freedom to Argos, and to join it to their powerful league. He held out to him the example of Lysiades, as showing how much better it would be to be the admired general of so great a nation, than the hated tyrant of a single state. Aristomachus assented, and desired Aratus to send him fifty talents, that he might discharge his troops. The money was prepared; but Lysiades, at that time general, ambitious of being regarded as the author of so important a measure, stirred up the mind of Aristomachus against Aratus, and obtained for himself the honour of bringing the tyrant to apply for admission into the league. But the Achæans gave on this occasion a remarkable proof of their confidence in Aratus: for when he opposed the admission of Aristomachus, they rejected him; but when he afterwards proposed his admission, they cheerfully decreed that the Argives and also the Phliasians should be received; and, in the following year, Aristomachus was chosen general.

34. When Aristomachus found himself in great credit with the Achæans, he meditated the invasion of Laconia; and he sent for Aratus from Athens. Aratus wrote to dissuade him from such an expedition, as he was unwilling that the Achæans should come into conflict with Cleomenes, a young prince of great determination, whose fame had rapidly increased in the midst of dangers. However, Aristomachus was resolute; and Aratus followed him to the war. Cleomenes offered battle to Aristomachus, near Pallantium; but Aratus prevented the engagement. For this reason, Lysiades brought a public accusation against Aratus, and contested with him the appointment to the command of the army in the following year. But Aratus gained

the victory by the majority of suffrages; and he was chosen to be general of the Achæan League for the twelfth time.

35. In this same year, Aratus was defeated by Cleomenes, near mount Lycæum. As he was obliged to wander through the night after this defeat, it was reported that he was dead. But, gathering the remains of his shattered army, he was not content to retreat in safety: he suddenly attacked the Mantinæans, allies of Cleomenes; placed a garrison within their walls; and made free citizens of all the strangers he found there. Thus, while a defeated fugitive, he secured for the Achæans advantages which they could not easily have obtained if they had been conquerors.

36. The Spartans crossed the frontiers of the Megalopolitans with an invading army. Aratus went to the help of the Megalopolitans; but he was unwilling to risk a battle with Cleomenes, though Cleomenes endeavoured to draw him out, and the Megalopolitans urged him to engage. He had not, at any time, been eager for open warfare; and now his numbers were inferior to those of Cleomenes. Feeling his courage chilled by years, and his ambition discouraged by failure, he feared to attack a young man of a bold and ardent spirit, elevated with unexpected success. He thought, moreover, that if it became Cleomenes to seek the military glory which was before him, by bold and energetic actions, it was not less becoming in himself to preserve, by his caution, the fame which he had already acquired. But when his light infantry were attacked, they rushed forward against the Spartans, pushed them back to their encampment, and began to pillage their tents. Aratus, instead of profiting by this advantage, kept his troops on the edge of a ravine, and forbade them to move. Lysiades was enraged. He hurled indignant reproaches against Aratus; and called on his cavalry to come to the help of those that were pursuing their enemies, and not to lose the victory, nor abandon him while fighting for his country. He gathered round him a brave and numerous body of cavalry, charged the right-wing of the Spartans, and put them to flight; but, carried away by his impetuosity, he soon became entangled among the rocks, trees, and difficult passes of the ravine, where he fell by the hand of Cleomenes. He died before the gates of his own city. The rest of the cavalry made their escape; but they threw

the infantry into such disorder, that the whole army was defeated.

37. The blame of this unhappy defeat was thrown principally on Aratus, as it was believed that he had deserted Lysiades. The Achæans retreated in anger, and forced Aratus to follow them to Ægium. It was resolved in the Council of the League, not to supply Aratus with any more money, nor to allow him any more foreign troops; and it was declared that if he chose to continue the war, it must be at his own expense. Aratus, thus contemptuously treated, thought of resigning his command at once; but, on reflection, he restrained his indignation. Soon after, he led the Achæans to Orchomenus, where he fought with Megistonous, father-in-law to Cleomenes. He killed three hundred men, and took Megistonous himself prisoner.

38. Aratus had long been accustomed to take the command of the Achæan forces every second year. But now, when his turn came, he refused; and Timoxenes was chosen in his place. The reason assigned for this refusal was his dissatisfaction with the conduct of the people; but the true cause is to be found in the perilous condition of their affairs. Cleomenes insisted on being their leader. Aratus ought to have retained his command; or, if he despaired of the Achæans, he ought to have yielded to Cleomenes, rather than bring the garrisons of the Macedonians into Peloponnesus.

39. When Cleomenes had gained possession of Corinth, and blockaded Sicyon, Aratus was deliberating within himself whether he should give up the citadel to Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, king of Macedonia; for it was on that condition only, that Antigonus was willing to afford him any succour. The Achæans, who were holding a council at Ægium, summoned Aratus to attend. As Sicyon was invested by the army of Cleomenes, he could not depart without considerable danger; and his fellow-citizens would have detained him, praying him not to expose his person. The women and children came round him as their common father and preserver, and entreated him with tears. But, after consoling and re-assuring them, he mounted his horse, and, accompanied by ten friends, and by his son, who was grown up, he rode to the sea-coast. There he found some vessels at anchor; and, embarking without delay, arrived

at Ægium to attend the council. At that assembly, it was agreed that Antigonus should be invited into Greece, and that the citadel of Corinth should be surrendered to him. Aratus sent his own son, among other hostages, to the king of Macedon. The Corinthians were so enraged at these proceedings that they seized the whole of the money of Aratus, and gave his house to Cleomenes.

40. Antigonus arrived with twenty thousand foot, and fourteen hundred horse. Aratus and the chief officers of the League went by sea to meet him at Pegæ, on the gulf of Corinth. Aratus, indeed, had no great confidence in Antigonus, or the Macedonians; nor could he forget that it was by injuring them that his own greatness had increased, or that the foundation of his fame had been laid in his hatred of Antigonus. But, obeying a necessity which, he believed, he could not resist, he exposed himself to whatever danger there might be before him.

41. When Antigonus knew that Aratus had arrived, he saluted the others with his ordinary courtesy; but he received Aratus with special marks of honour from the first; and, when he discovered him to be a wise man, he admitted him to his most intimate friendship, and took counsel with him in his most important affairs. He found him, also, an agreeable companion; and, young as the king was, he preferred Aratus, not only to the other Achæans, but even to those Macedonians with whom he had been most familiar. They exchanged oaths of fidelity, and marched against Cleomenes, who was strongly fortified at Corinth, and bravely sustained by the Corinthians. But Cleomenes being obliged to leave Corinth, to defend his people at Argos, and being then forced to retire to Mantinæa, the cities of Peloponnesus were restored to the Achæans. Antigonus became master of the citadel of Corinth. Aratus was chosen general of the Argives. The property of the tyrants of Argos, and of traitors, was given to Antigonus. The Argives drowned Aristomachus, after having tortured him, at Cenchrea.

42. The conduct of Aratus on this occasion was greatly condemned. He suffered Aristomachus to be cruelly murdered—a man who had committed no crime, with whom he had been closely connected, and who, at his own request, had laid down his sovereignty, and joined Argos to the

League. He had been, moreover, the cause of the city of Corinth being given up to Antigonus. He had permitted Orchomenus to be plundered, and to receive a Macedonian garrison. He had concurred in a decree that no king should be written to, or sent to, without leave from Antigonus. The Greeks were forced to pay and sustain the Macedonian troops. They sacrificed and celebrated games in honour of Antigonus: the citizens of Aratus setting the example, and Aratus himself receiving the king into his own house. For all these things, men justly condemned Aratus; who, having once put the reins of government into the hands of Antigonus, was carried along by the impetuosity of the royal pleasure.

43. When Cleomenes went to Egypt, after his defeat near Sellasia, Antigonus behaved in the most benignant and honourable manner to Aratus; and, when on his death-bed, soon after his return to Macedonia, he sent his successor, Philip, son of Demetrius, to Peloponnesus, and ordered him to follow the counsels of Aratus, Aratus received the young king with so much attention, that he returned to Macedonia with a very high regard for Aratus, and with a deep interest in the prosperity of Greece.

44. The death of Antigonus opened a way for the Ætolians to establish themselves in Peloponnesus. The Achæans had been accustomed to rely on the Macedonians, and they spent their life in a state of indolence, which the hardier Ætolians despised. Plundering Patræ and Dyme on their way, they committed frightful ravages in the territories of Messene. Aratus beheld all this with great indignation. Timoxenes, the general for that year, took no active measures to suppress them, as his time of service had nearly expired. As Aratus was to succeed Timoxenes, he entered on his year five days before the proper time, for the sake of going to the help of the Messenians. But the Achæan troops were unfit for service: they were beaten by the Ætolians near Caphyæ, in Arcadia. Aratus was publicly accused for what he did on this occasion; and he lost all zeal, and all hope, for the public welfare. The Ætolians did whatever they pleased through the whole Peloponnesus.

45. The degenerate Achæans looked once more to Macedonia. Philip's well known regard for Aratus led them to hope that he would use them well. But a faction had

sprung up against Aratus, to whom, for a while, the king gave countenance; but, finding that affairs did not prosper, Philip committed them again, and entirely, to the guidance of Aratus. For this reason, the enemies of Aratus began to insult him openly. They proceeded so far as to pelt him with stones, as he was retiring from supper to his tent. For this offence the king fined them twenty talents; and, when he found that they were throwing serious difficulties in the way of the administration of Aratus, he put them to death. The character of Philip, however, was more fully brought out by the prosperity which flowed in upon him. He inflicted a deep injury on the son of Aratus, by alienating from him the affection of his wife. He betrayed a dislike to the freedom of the Grecian states. He was visibly withdrawing his confidence from Aratus. The first serious alarm of his intentions occurred at Messene. Aratus was going to that city for the purpose of quelling a disturbance among the people. Philip arrived the day before Aratus, and did all he could to stir up the parties against each other. When Aratus arrived, he found that Philip had thus made matters far worse than he found them. He was not careful to hide his resentment. He offered no check to the strong language in which his son, who had once been an ardent admirer of Philip, now told him to his face how he detested him. He gradually withdrew from the king's court, and avoided all communication with him. When Philip had shamefully lost his ships in a war which he undertook against the Romans, all things appeared to go wrong. He unjustly wreaked his indignation on the Messenians, by desolating their country.

46. Aratus now saw Philip's true character. His early regard for Aratus had been influenced by fear. He was still afraid of him. He did not think himself a free man so long as Aratus lived; yet he would not remove him by force. He desired Taurion, one of his generals, to kill him privately, by poison, during his own absence. Taurion formed an acquaintance with Aratus, and succeeded in giving him a slow but deadly poison. Aratus was not ignorant of the cause of his inward sufferings; but, as he could gain no object by complaining, he bore the affliction patiently and in silence, as though it were an ordinary disease. One day, indeed, a friend expressed his surprise

when he saw him spitting blood, and he replied—"These, Cephalon, are the proofs of royal friendship."

47. Aratus died at Ægium, having been seventeen times the general of the Achæans. The Achæans would have buried him at Ægium, and raised a monument worthy of his name; but the Sicyonians, regarding it as a calamity that Aratus should be buried anywhere but among themselves, persuaded the Achæans to grant them that indulgence. There was an ancient law which forbade the burial of the dead within the walls of Sicyon; and this law had been observed with so much superstitious reverence, that the Sicyonians sent to consult the oracle at Delphi. The response was in their favour. Their sorrow was turned to joy. The mourning was a festival. Clothed in white vestments, and crowned with flowers, they conducted the body of Aratus, with hymns and dances, to Sicyon, where they laid him in the most conspicuous place they could choose.

48. Aratus was a hater of tyrants rather than a lover of freedom. While he was singularly bold and adventurous in secret undertakings, he wanted the calm and persevering fortitude which was necessary to success in open war. His courage is described by Plutarch as more like that of animals than that which is cherished by reflection, and perfected by discipline.

49. The Achæan League, which owed so much to the energy and resolution of Aratus, was one of the most remarkable institutions of Greece. Embracing the inhabitants of a small territory, with less power than any single state of Sparta or Athens, and deficient in good harbours on their coast, they yet succeeded by union, harmony, and the wise selection of commanders, in preserving Greece for a long time from subjection to the Macedonian empire. To promote this union was the great object of Aratus's ambition; and yet, such is the inconsistency of human nature, that this same man yielded to his personal feeling of wounded pride, and sacrificed the independence of Greece to his resentment. By the just retribution of that Providence, which overrules all mortal affairs, Aratus fell a victim to the power which he had himself brought into Greece. There must have been the bitterness of *remorse,* added to the pangs of disappointment, when he

spoke of the poison that consumed him as the reward of royal friendship.

50. The life of this remarkable man abounds with many lessons. Not the least important of these is, the superiority of principle to passion. To secure this superiority is one of the grand objects of religion: and it is the great recommendation of the Christian faith, that it not only calls attention to this object, and impresses us with a sense of its unspeakable value, but helps us to secure it. It tells us of Him who "endured the contradiction of sinners against himself;" who died to expiate the guilt of those who shed his blood. It teaches us to pray for grace to overcome our own passions; and it assures us that the grace which we need for this purpose will be vouchsafed to those who humbly seek it in the name of our Redeemer. It shows us how he lived: it fills our hearts with motives to follow his example. Thus we are imbued with principles which gain the mastery of our passions. Rising above the level of the lion and the tiger, we attain our true dignity, and prepare for the society of angels. We put not our trust in princes, but in God, and we shall not be disappointed.

LIFE OF AGIS.

B. C. 225.

1. When the love of money had infected Sparta, bringing in its train the vices of avarice, and the corruptions of luxury, she was stripped of her ancient grandeur, and she lay in that abject condition until the time of Agis and Leonidas. Agis was the sixth descendant from the illustrious Agesilaus, who had fought with the Persians in Asia. Leonidas, the son of Cleonymus, was the colleague of Agis, in the government—a prince who had lived long in the eastern court of Seleucus, and had introduced the luxurious habits of that court into Sparta. Agis surpassed, not Leonidas only, but all the Spartan kings since the time of Agesilaus, in his natural disposition, and in the grandeur of his mind. Before his twentieth year, though he had

been delicately brought up by his mother, Agesistrata, and his grandmother, Archidamia, who were the richest persons in Sparta, he renounced the seductions of pleasure, and laid aside all the ornaments that might have become the beauty of his person, appearing always in a plain cloak, and adhering to the old simplicity in all his habits of life. It was his boast that he had no wish to reign, but for the sake of restoring the laws and customs of his ancestors.

2. The great corruption of Spartan manners began with the introduction of gold and silver after they had destroyed the Athenian empire. So long as they maintained the division and inheritance of lands, which Lycurgus had instituted, the order and equality of the citizens preserved them from many of the evils caused by wealth. But one of the *ephors*, named Epitadeus, a powerful and ill-natured man, who had a quarrel with his son, procured a law by which any man might make over his inheritance to any other man, according to his pleasure, either during his life, or by testament after his death. What this man proposed from motives of private resentment, other citizens supported from avarice. By so doing, they overturned the best of their institutions: for the estates soon came into the hands of a few powerful men; and the great bulk of the citizens were reduced to poverty. The city was thus filled with men who were driven from all liberal and honourable pursuits, to labour for their bread in the meanest employments, and to nourish in their hearts the bitterest envy and hatred towards the rich. There remained no more than seven hundred native Spartans; and of these, there were, perhaps, about one hundred who retained the possession of land: all the rest were a poor and spiritless crowd, without heart to defend their city from foreign enemies, and ever on the watch for internal changes.

3. Agis regarded it as an undertaking worthy of him to re-people Sparta by restoring her ancient equality. He tried the dispositions of the citizens. Beyond his expectations, the younger men listened to him, adopted the side of patriotism; and, for the sake of public liberty, were ready to change their course of life, as they would have changed the fashion of their clothing. But the elder citizens, for the most part, were steeped in corruption; and they trembled at the name of Lycurgus, like fugitive slaves

brought back to their master. They severely blamed Agis for deploring the state of the republic, and for desiring to bring it back to its ancient dignity. Lysander, son of Libys, however, Mandrocleidas, son of Ecphanes, and Agesilaus, entered warmly into his design. Lysander enjoyed the highest authority among the Spartans. Mandrocleidas was distinguished by his boldness, tempered with prudence and practical sagacity. Agesilaus was the king's uncle, a man of effeminate manners, and of an avaricious spirit, but eloquent: he appeared to be stirred up in this matter by his son Hippomedon, who had gained much reputation in many wars, and who was strong in the attachment of the Spartan youth; but the true reason why Agesilaus united with Agis, was the greatness of his debts, from which he hoped to free himself by the changes proposed.

4. Having gained Agesilaus, Agis endeavoured, with his help, to gain also his mother, who was sister to Agesilaus, and who had great influence in Sparta, on account of the number of her debtors, slaves, and friends. She was at first astonished, and told her son that he was contemplating a scheme that was neither practical nor useful: but he showed her that success might easily be attained, and that it would be of the highest advantage to Sparta, and he conjured her to sacrifice her gold and silver to the honour of her son; for he could never compete in wealth with other kings, such as Ptolemy or Seleucus, whose servants were richer than all the kings of Sparta. "But," he said, "if I can eclipse the luxury of all these kings by temperance and frugality, and restore to my fellow-citizens the equality they enjoyed in the time of Lycurgus, I shall assuredly acquire the name of a great king."

5. The queen and her ladies sympathized with the ambition of the young prince. Struck with the grandeur of his purpose they urged him onward, and sent to their friends, exhorting them to join him. They spoke also to the other women. The Spartans allowed their wives to intermeddle in public affairs more than the men did in those of their private households. At that time, indeed, most of the wealth of Sparta belonged to women. This rendered the scheme of Agis more hazardous; for the women had opposed it, not only because it would take from them the pleasures in which they vainly imagined the highest hap-

piness to consist, but would deprive them of the honour and power which their riches had obtained for them. These wealthy ladies, therefore, took the alarm, and entreated Leonidas, as the elder king, to repress the dangerous schemes of Agis.

6. Leonidas was well inclined to save the rich; but, fearing the people, who were eager for the change, he did not oppose Agis openly. He laboured privately, however, to counteract his plan, by appealing to the magistrates, and by representing Agis as aiming at despotic authority in offering to divide the estates of the rich among the poor. He declared that his object was not to create citizens for Sparta, but satellites for his own grandeur.

7. Agis having secured the appointment of Lysander as one of the ephors, lost no time in having his decree submitted to the senate. The principal articles of this decree were—that debts should be remitted; that lands were to be divided among the Spartans, and such inhabitants of the neighbouring country as were liberally educated, and in the flower of their age; and that the citizens should be divided into companies, and live together according to their ancient laws. The senate differed in opinion on these proposals. Lysander summoned an assembly, and spoke strongly on their behalf. Mandrocleidas and Agesilaus conjured them that they would not suffer the few who sought to delude them for the sake of their own pleasures to trample under foot the majesty of the Spartan state, but to remember the ancient oracles, which had warned them to avoid avarice as the plague of Sparta, as well as later oracles to the same effect. At last, Agis entered the assembly; and, after a short speech, he said that he would give largely to the government which they sought to establish; that he resigned his own fields and pastures, and six hundred talents of silver; and that his mother, his grandmother, and their relatives and friends, who were the richest people in Sparta, would do the same thing.

8. This magnificent proposal of the royal youth astonished the Spartans. They were filled with exultation, crying out, that he was the only king worthy of Sparta that had appeared for almost three hundred years. But Leonidas struggled against these proposals with all his might. He saw that he might be forced to follow this

noble example, and that, even then, all the honour would belong to him who had set it. He asked Agis—" Do you believe that Lycurgus was an able and a good man?" When Agis assented, he proceeded:—" But did Lycurgus ever ordain that debts should be abolished, or strangers admitted into this community? On the contrary, he did not consider that state to be in a healthy condition from which strangers were not excluded." Agis replied, " I do not wonder that Leonidas, who has been brought up abroad, and has married into the family of a satrap, is ignorant that Lycurgus extirpated debts and interest, together with money from the state." Lycurgus excluded no strangers, but such as would not conform to the Spartan discipline. It was not the persons of strangers that he feared, but their lives and manners. Terpander, Thales, and Pherecydes were strangers; but because they sang and taught the same truths as Lycurgus, the Spartans had always honoured them. Even you celebrate Ecprepes, who, when he was ephor, cut off the two strings which Phrynis the musician had added to the harp, and those who punished Timotheus for a similar offence; and yet you blame me for wishing to banish all luxury and arrogance from among the Spartans; as if they who were so careful to remove superfluities in music, were not afraid of the corruption of life and manners which destroy the equality and harmony of the state."

9. From this time, the multitude adhered to Agis. The rich gathered round Leonidas, entreating him not to abandon them. They addressed themselves to the senators, who had the right of examining and rejecting any decree before it was submitted to the people; and they so worked on them by their entreaties, that the decree of Agis was thrown out by a majority of a single voice.

10. Lysander was still in office as one of the ephors He determined to prosecute Leonidas on an ancient law, which forbade any descendant of Hercules to have children by a foreign woman, and which inflicted capital punishment on any Spartan who went to settle in a foreign country. Having instructed other persons to bring these charges against Leonidas, Lysander himself went, with his colleagues in the magistracy, to observe the sky. The custom was this: once in nine years the Spartan ephors sat down

to observe the sky in silence, on a calm night, when there was no moon; if they saw a star shoot across the sky, they concluded that their kings had committed some crime, and they deposed them until some oracle from Delphi or Olympia commanded them to be restored. Lysander affirmed that he had beheld such a sign, and he called Leonidas to trial. He brought witnesses to prove that Leonidas had two children by an Asiatic woman, whom one of the prefects of Seleucus had given to him in marriage; and that after finding himself disliked by her, he had unwillingly returned to Sparta, and usurped the vacant throne. At the same time, he moved Cleombrotus, who was the son-in-law of Leonidas, and a member of the royal family, to assert his own right to the throne of Sparta. In his fear, Leonidas took refuge in the brazen temple of Minerva; and his daughter Chelonis, leaving her husband Cleombrotus, joined her father as his fellow-suppliant. When Leonidas was cited to his trial, he did not appear. The kingdom was taken from him, and given to Cleombrotus.

11. When Lysander's year of office had expired, the ephors who succeeded him yielded to the supplications of Leonidas, and restored him to the throne. They, also, commenced a suit against Lysander and Mandrocleidas, for abolishing debts, and dividing lands, contrary to the laws. In this danger, Lysander and Mandrocleidas persuaded both the kings, Agis and Leonidas, to unite against the schemes of the ephors. They reminded them that those magistrates had no authority, except in cases when the kings differed from each other. Swayed by this consideration, the kings came with their friends to the forum, removed the ephors from their seats, and placed others in their room. Agesilaus was one of the new ephors. When the kings had armed a numerous body of the Spartan youth, and had set many prisoners at liberty, their adversaries trembled with apprehensions of a general slaughter. But no blood was shed. Even when Agesilaus dispatched assassins to kill Leonidas, as he fled from Sparta, Agis sent some trustworthy men to surround Leonidas, and conduct him in safety to Tegea.

12. One man brought to an unhappy end the plan which now bade fair to be successful, as there was nothing to hinder its being fully carried out. Agesilaus, by his hateful avarice, destroyed a regulation so worthy of the Spartans.

He possessed a very large and fertile state; but he was overwhelmed with debt; and as he was alike unable to pay what was due, and unwilling to lose his estate, he persuaded Agis that he would endanger the peace of Sparta if he attempted to execute his entire plan at once; but that if he began with gratifying landholders by abolishing debts, they would, afterwards, easily and calmly concur in the distribution of the lands. He placed the affair in the same light before Lysander. They burned all bonds and contracts in one pile, in the forum. As the flames arose, Agesilaus declared that "he had never seen a brighter light."

13. The multitude now demanded that the lands should be immediately divided, and the kings gave orders to that effect; but Agesilaus found, or made, obstacles which lengthened out the time till Agis went to the war, in which the Achæans sought help from the Spartans as their allies, at the time when they were expecting that the Ætolians would make an incursion into Peloponnesus, through the territories of Megara.

14. Agis went forth to the help of the Achæans against the Ætolians, with high confidence in the cheerfulness and promptitude of his fellow-soldiers. Most of them were needy men, just released from debt, and expecting a share of the land on their return from the war; and they displayed the strongest attachment to Agis. The inhabitants of the cities were amazed at the all but silent order with which these soldiers marched across Peloponnesus: they reflected how perfect must the Spartan discipline have been, under the ancient Agesilaus, Lysander, or Leonidas, when such reverence and fear were shown by the soldiers to a commander inferior to almost all of them in years. And, indeed, this youth himself gained the hearts of the multitude by his frugality and hardihood, and by the frankness with which he permitted them to see him clothed as plainly as any private soldier; though the rich men of Greece viewed with jealousy the changes he had introduced at Sparta, and feared lest the people of other states should be excited to follow their example.

15. Agis joined Aratus, the commander of the Achæan League, at Corinth. When they discussed together the mode in which the war should be conducted, Agis discovered the utmost vivacity and resolution, without any rash-

ness. He said it appeared to him that they should fight the enemy there, and not allow the war to pass within the gates of Peloponnesus; but that he would do what seemed best to Aratus, because he was his senior, and the general of the Achæans; while he himself had come, not to take the lead, but to serve as an auxiliary. But Aratus thought that, as the husbandmen had already nearly gathered all their fruits, it would be better to let the enemy pass, than, by a battle, to risk the loss of all. When Aratus withdrew his army, he dismissed his allies with much praise; and Agis, who had gained high admiration, returned to Sparta, where matters were already in a state of alarming disturbance.

16. Agesilaus, still one of the ephors, relieved from the burden of debt which had oppressed him, did not scruple to commit any crime by which he could enrich himself. He added a thirteenth month to the year—anticipating a change which was afterwards to be made,—and forced the people to pay additional taxes for that month. But, afraid of the vengeance of those whom he thus wronged, he surrounded himself with guards when he went to the senate. He treated one of the kings—Leonidas, with the utmost contempt; and he wished it to appear that he respected the other, Agis, not as a king, but as his own kinsman. He gave it out that he should be chosen as one of the ephors in the following year. The enemies of Agesilaus, with a view to hasten his ruin, and to deliver themselves from the danger with which they were threatened, openly brought Leonidas back from Tegea to replace him on his throne. The multitude hailed these proceedings with joy, for they were enraged at the delusion which Agesilaus had practised upon them, in putting off the division of the lands. Agesilaus owed his escape from the popular fury to his son Hippomedon, who was universally esteemed for his valour, and who now used his influence with the people, and succeeded in conducting his father in safety from the city.

17. The two kings fled for refuge, Agis to the Brazen temple, and Cleombrotus to the temple of Neptune. As it was against Cleombrotus that Leonidas was most enraged, he left Agis in the sanctuary to which he had betaken himself, but went with a body of soldiers to the temple of

Neptune, and angrily accused Cleombrotus, because, though he was his son-in-law, he had conspired against him, and driven him from his kingdom. Cleombrotus, having nothing to say in his own defence, sat before his accuser silent and perplexed. Chelonis, the wife of Cleombrotus, and daughter of Leonidas, who had before fled from her husband to comfort her dethroned father, now joined her husband, embracing him, and having their two children at her feet. The tenderness and affection of this woman excited the admiration of all who beheld her. Pointing to her disordered garments and neglected tresses, she appealed to Leonidas: "These marks of grief, my father, are occasioned, not by the troubles of Cleombrotus, but by yours. Now that you have triumphed over your enemies, am I still to live in sorrow? or shall I put on the robes of gladness when I see the husband of my youth killed by my father's hand? If you are unmoved by the tears of his wife and his children, he must suffer a more grievous punishment than that which you design for him: he will see me, who am so dear to him, perish before his eyes; for with what face can I look on other women, when neither my husband nor my father has compassion on me, and, both as a wife and as a daughter, I am born to be wretched, and to be disgraced by my own family. If my husband had any excuse for what he did, I deprived him of it by taking part with you, and leaving him. You yourself supply him with the best excuse for his crime, by showing that a throne is so desirable a thing for its own sake, that a son-in-law must be killed, and children abandoned." As Chelonis uttered these lamentations in a reverential tone, she leaned her cheek on the head of her husband, and turned a wild and haggard look on those who stood around.

18. Leonidas consulted for a moment with his friends; and then he ordered Cleombrotus to go into exile; but he prayed his daughter to stay, and not desert him who so tenderly loved her as to spare her husband's life for her sake. But Chelonis obeyed not. Placing one of the children in the arms of her husband, as he rose, and taking the other in her own, she kneeled before the altar, and departed with Cleombrotus into exile. If Cleombrotus had not been entirely corrupted by ambition, he would have

regarded banishment with such a wife as better than a kingdom.

19. Having banished Cleombrotus, and deposed the magistrates, Leonidas now laid his snares for Agis. At first, he exhorted him to come forth from his asylum, and resume the government with him, assuring him that the people had forgiven him as an ambitious youth deceived by Agesilaus. But when he saw that Agis distrusted him, and still lingered in the Brazen Temple, he laid aside these appearances of friendship. Amphares, Demochares, and Arcesilaus,—three particular friends of Agis,—continued their visits to him, often accompanying him from the temple to the bath, and conducting him back in safety. Amphares had borrowed some vestments, and some precious vases, from Agesistrata, Agis's mother; and, to secure them for himself, he formed the purpose of betraying the king and his female relatives. It was he who first lent an ear to the suggestions of Leonidas, and who inflamed his brother magistrates against Agis. As Agis spent his whole time in the temple, excepting when he went to the bath, his treacherous friends resolved to surprise him on one of those occasions. As he was returning from the bath, they met him, saluted him, and, as they accompanied him, conversed and joked with him as familiar companions. When they reached a turn in the way, which led to the prison, Amphares, as a magistrate, laid hands on Agis, saying, "I take you, Agis, to the ephors, to render an account of your government." At the same moment, Demochares, who was a tall and powerful man, twisted his cloak round Agis's neck, and drew him away. The rest, according to their preconcerted plan, pushed on him from behind; and, as Agis had none to help him in his loneliness, they cast him into the prison.

20. Leonidas was at hand forthwith, accompanied by a large band of mercenary soldiers whom he placed around the prison; and followed by the ephors, and such of the senators as were of their party, they demanded of Agis, after the manner of a judicial trial, an account of his late proceedings. The young king laughed at their dissimulation. But Amphares called out that he could not laugh with impunity, but would soon have to bear the punishment of his rashness. Another ephor, as though

he would seem more lenient in opening a way of escape to Agis, asked him, if he had not been forced by Lysander and Agesilaus to do what he had done? He answered that he had not been forced by any man; but that, full of admiration of Lycurgus, he had desired to imitate him by restoring the republic to the state in which he had left it. The same ephor then asked him, if he did not repent of what he had done? He answered, he "did not repent of such noble designs, though death stared him in the face." They then condemned him to death. They commanded the officers of the prison to remove him to the *decade*—a chamber in which criminals were strangled. Demochares saw that the officers were afraid to lay hands on Agis, and that the mercenary soldiers present turned away from the crime of laying hands upon the king: he loaded them with reproaches and curses, and himself conducted Agis to the fatal chamber.

21. The tidings of the imprisonment of Agis soon spread through the city. Crowds of people, bearing torches, gathered before the prison doors. Among them were heard the voices of the king's mother and grandmother, loudly demanding that the king of the Spartans should be heard and judged by his fellow-citizens. His enemies only hastened his execution, fearing that the crowd might increase, and rescue their prisoner in the night. As they led him to the place of execution, Agis observed one of the officers weeping and sighing, and he said to him, "Weep not for me, as I suffer wrongfully; it is better with me than with my murderers." Having thus spoken, he freely offered his neck to the cord, by which he was strangled. As Amphares was going out at the gate, Agesistrata, the murdered king's mother, threw herself at his feet, in memory of the long friendship which had existed between them. He raised her up, told her that "no further violence would be practised against Agis," and commanded her, if she wished, to go in to her son. She asked that her mother, Archidamia, might also have entrance. He said, there was nothing to hinder her. When he had admitted them both, and had ordered the gates to be closed, he first handed to the executioner Archidamia, who had grown old in honour and dignity among the Spartans. When she was dispatched, he ordered Agesistrata to come

in. As she entered, she beheld the body of her son lying on the ground, and her mother hanging by the neck, dead. She assisted the officers in taking down the corpse of her mother; and, placing it near Agis, covered them with her veil. She then threw herself on her son, and, kissing his cold remains, exclaimed, "O my son, thy too great gentleness and humanity have destroyed both thyself and us." Amphares saw and heard her from the door, rushed fiercely to Agesistrata, and said to her,—"Since you approve of your son's deeds, you shall share his fate." She rose, and walking towards the fatal spot, said, with her last breath, —"May these things only prove to be for the good of Sparta."

22. As soon as this cruel tragedy was known in the city, and the three bodies were carried out, the terror was not sufficient to repress the indignation of the Spartans against Leonidas and Amphares. They knew that nothing so atrocious had happened in Sparta since the settlement of the Dorians in Peloponnesus. In all time past, even their enemies had hesitated to strike the king of Sparta, from fear and veneration of their majesty; so that, in all their conflicts with other Greeks, the Spartans had not lost any of their kings, excepting Cleombrotus, in the battle of Leuctra.

23. Agis was the first Spartan king put to death by the ephors. He suffered for an undertaking intended to promote the dignity of Sparta; and at an age when even men who commit crimes were pardoned usually by the Spartans. He was thought to have deserved the reproach of his friends, rather than of his enemies, for saving Leonidas, and for the too great gentleness with which he trusted other men.

24. It was what the world admires as a noble ambition that brought Agis to such a cruel end. But in the acknowledged goodness of his object, it is probable that he did not consider sufficiently either the difference between his own times and the times of Lycurgus, or the wide disparity between his own power and that of the ancient legislator. Nor was he experienced enough to understand the great variety of motives and interests which would be touched by his proposals. In many other cases, we see similar failures occasioned by the attempts of persons to accomplish great objects. Men should study times and circumstances, as well as principles. Prudence and caution are not less

valuable than energy and zeal. The best intentions need to be guided by wisdom. Agis was unhappily surrounded by wicked men, without being sufficiently on his guard against craft and subtlety. In every walk of life similar dangers surround the young. Such dangers are not confined to princes, or persons in public stations.

25. How true as well as beautiful was the saying of Agis to the Spartan jailor,—"It is better with me than with my murderers." It is better to die for attempting to do good, than to live and prosper in doing evil. If the consciousness of innocence, as it regarded the particular cause of his condemnation, was a consolation to this noble youth, how strong is the consolation of those who suffer for devotion to the highest good of man, in obedience to the will of Christ. Glorious as the aims of patriotism may be, when prompted by the purest motives, and directed by the soundest principles, the aims of religion are as much more glorious as the life to come is longer than the life that now is. In pursuing the objects of religion, all labour, all suffering, all danger, is consecrated by the dignity of Him whom we obey and serve. Nothing that we do, or lose, or bear, from love to Him, is done, or lost, or borne in vain. Abel was happier in his early death than Cain was in the wandering life through which he was haunted by the remembrance, and stung with the guilt of his crime. Stephen, committing his spirit to his Saviour, was immeasurably happy, in contrast with the men who stoned him. So has it ever been, and so it ever will be, with those who toil in patience, or suffer meekly, for "the name which is above every name." With them it is always well; in solitary labour, amid the scorn of men, in poverty, in sickness, in prison, and in death.

26. It would betray the most thoughtless ingratitude, to be unmindful of the social circumstances, so infinitely superior to those of the Spartans, in which the providence of God has cast our lot; or to forget the labours and sorrows which have been endured by those who have gone before us to secure these blessings for us. It will always do us good to remember the patriots and martyrs of former times, if, by meditating on what they did, and on what they braved, we are so confirmed in our attachment to what is true, and holy, and good, as to hold those things dearer to

our hearts than any worldly gain, pleasure, or fame, or even life itself. Life is worthless, worse than worthless, to him who does not spend it rightly. And rightly we cannot spend it, if we are proud, sensual, and selfish. None are safe but those who, in the expressive language of the Scriptures, are "in Christ." None live, as God intends that men should live, but those who walk as Christ "also walked." He is our only Saviour, and our sovereign Lord. He is also our pattern in all things. By looking always to God for acceptance through him; by watching, as he has taught us; by following him in the path of self-denial, and daily taking up our cross; by seeking continually the grace which is given from heaven to those who seek it in his name; we shall be able to act with wisdom, constancy, and courage, in all the changing scenes of life, and our end will be peaceful and triumphant. This is true ambition. Thus to live, is to reign. Thus to die, is glory.

LIFE OF CLEOMENES.

B.C. 220.

1. Agis left a young widow, named Agiatis, the daughter of Gylippus, from whom she inherited large property. This lady is spoken of as having surpassed all other Grecian women in beauty and in modesty. Leonidas married her forcibly to his son Cleomenes, who was but a youth. Though she did all she could to resist the will of Leonidas, and continued thoroughly to hate him, she conducted herself with much affection and sweetness towards Cleomenes, her husband. Cleomenes, on his part, appears to have loved her sincerely, and to have shared in her tender recollections of Agis, as she recounted his noble plans and efforts for the advantage of the state.

2. Cleomenes was of an aspiring and magnanimous disposition, and not less inclined to temperance and frugality than Agis had been; but, instead of having the same mild

and gentle temper, he was ardent and impetuous in the pursuit of what he believed to be honourable. While he preferred the obedience of a willing people, he still thought it well to force them, when they were reluctant, to what he thought was right. He viewed with strong dissatisfaction the state of Sparta, as he saw the citizens relaxed by idleness and luxury, the king himself neglecting his public duties in his private gratifications, and every other public man turning the affairs of the state, as he could, to his personal advantage. But it was a dangerous thing even to mention the training of the Spartan youth to temperance, patience, and discipline of mind, since Agis had fallen a victim to such attempts.

3. While Cleomenes was young, he had listened to discourses in philosophy from Sphærus of Borysthenes, a disciple of Zeno (of Citium). Sphærus was much delighted with the strength of Cleomenes' mind, and laboured to inflame his love of distinction.

4. After the death of Leonidas, Cleomenes ascended the throne. He saw the citizens totally corrupted; the rich abandoned to avarice and luxury; and the poor without heart for war, or for training their children in the Spartan exercises. For himself, he enjoyed only the name of a king, while all the power was in the hands of the ephors. He immediately bent his mind to the correction of this state of things. He had a peculiarly intimate friend, called Xenares. He inquired of him what kind of a king Agis was, and in what manner, and by whose counsels, he followed the course which he had taken. Xenares, at first, took great delight in narrating and expressing all he knew; but when he saw how eagerly Cleomenes entered into the plans of Agis, he strongly opposed him, accused him of madness, and forsook him. He never explained to any one the cause of this breach with Cleomenes, but contented himself with saying,—"The king knows what it is."

5. Xenares having thus failed him, Cleomenes, supposing that others would be of the same mind, kept his purpose within his own bosom. Believing that war would afford a more favourable occasion for effecting his scheme than peace, he took advantage of a quarrel which was provoked by the Achæans. Aratus, who then exercised the chief authority among that people, had aimed at bringing

the entire Peloponnesus into one body, as the only security from enemies without. The other states had united, with the exception of the Eleans, the Spartans, and such of the Arcadians as adhered to the Spartans. As soon as Leonidas was dead, Aratus invaded that part of Arcadia which was nearest to Achaia, for the purpose of trying the Spartans, and showing his contempt for Cleomenes as a youth without experience. The ephors sent Cleomenes to secure Athenæum, a temple of Minerva, near Belbina, which was the key to Laconia, and at that time disputed by the Spartans with the Megalopolitans. When Cleomenes had fortified this place, without receiving any remonstrance from Aratus, Aratus marched in the night towards Tegea and Orchomenus: but the persons who were to have delivered up those cities to him gave way to fear; and he was obliged to return without accomplishing his object, Aratus imagining that his night march had been kept secret. In the morning, however, Cleomenes wrote to him an ironical letter, inquiring, as if in a friendly manner, whither he had led his army the night before. Aratus replied, that having heard that Cleomenes was about to fortify Belbina, he had gone for the purpose of preventing it. Cleomenes wrote to him a second time, saying, "I believe it was as you say; but, if it is not disagreeable to you, will you let me know why you were accompanied with torches and ladders?" Aratus laughed at the joke, and asked, "What kind of a youth is this?" Demaratus, a Spartan exile, said to him, "If you mean to do anything against the Spartans, you must make haste before his spurs are grown."

6. Cleomenes was now stationed, with a few cavalry, and three hundred infantry, in Arcadia; but the ephors, fearing a war, ordered him to return to Sparta. As, however, Aratus immediately took Caphyæ, an Arcadian town, Cleomenes was sent back with his forces to Arcadia. By taking Methydrium, another Arcadian town, and ravaging the territories of Argos, he provoked the Achæans to send against him twenty thousand foot and a thousand horse, commanded by Aristomachus. Cleomenes met them at Palantium, and offered battle. Aratus, alarmed at such boldness, persuaded Aristomachus to retreat, amid the reproaches of the Achæans and the derision of the Spar-

tans, who did not number five thousand. Cleomenes was elated: he reminded the Spartans of the ancient king, who said,—"The Spartans do not ask how many, but where their enemies are."

7. The Achæans having turned their arms against the Eleans, Cleomenes encountered them on their return, near Lycæum, and so entirely routed them that it was reported throughout Greece, that Aratus was slain: but Aratus made the best use of the occasion; and, before any one could be aware of his movements, he had taken and garrisoned Mantinæa.

8. As the Spartans were discouraged, and were continually thwarting Cleomenes in his desires for war, he determined to recall Archidamus, Agis' brother, to whom the right of the throne in the royal family belonged, believing that the power of the ephors would be weakened, if the authority of the throne were completed in its two kings. But those who had destroyed Agis, fearing that if Archidamus were restored, he would punish them for murdering his brother, went secretly to escort him in his return to Sparta; but they killed him immediately after his arrival. This they did, either without the knowledge of Cleomenes, or by extorting his consent. The actual blame fell chiefly on those who were believed to have used violence towards him, to force him to permit it.

9. Fully bent on making the changes he had contemplated, Cleomenes bribed the ephors to indulge him in renewing the war. He gained the concurrence of many others through the influence of Cratesiclea, his mother, who supplied him largely with money, and took so lively an interest in the success of her son, that, for his sake, she became the wife of Megistonous, the wealthiest and most powerful man in Sparta.

10. Cleomenes led out his army, and occupied a place named Leuctra, in the country of the Megalopolitans. Aratus hastened, with his Achæans, to the relief of the place, and a battle was fought under its walls. The Spartans gave way. Aratus would not allow his troops to follow them, because of a deep ravine; but Lysiades, the Megalopolitan, regarding the orders of Aratus with impatience, excited the cavalry around him to push on after the retreating Spartans. They soon became entangled in a place

where they were separated from each other by vines, walls, and marshes, from which it was extremely difficult to escape. Cleomenes saw them in this situation. He sent against them the Tarentines and the Cretans; and Lysiades, after much hard fighting, was slain. The Spartans now rallied. With a loud shout they charged the Achæans. The whole Achæan army was routed; and great numbers of them were killed. A truce was granted to those who remained. Cleomenes commanded the body of Lysiades to be brought to him. He adorned it with purple, placed a crown of gold on the head, and sent it to the gates of Megalopolis. This was the same Lysiades who, after abdicating his office as prince of Megalopolis, had granted liberty to the citizens, and united them with the Achæans.

11. Carried away with this great victory, Cleomenes persuaded himself that if he had the entire sway at Sparta, he could continue the war with the Achæans as he pleased, and secure an easy conquest. He, therefore, convinced Megistonous, who had married his mother, that the ephors should be dismissed, and that the lands should be equally divided. By thus restoring the ancient equality, Sparta, he said, would be exalted, and she would be invested with the empire of Greece. Having obtained his father-in-law's adhesion to his schemes, he admitted two or three other friends to their councils.

12. In those days, one of the ephors is said to have had a wonderful dream as he slept in the temple of Pasiphaë. He dreamed that, in the place where the ephors were accustomed to sit, four seats were removed, and one only left; and that as he looked on this with astonishment, a voice from the inner temple declared—"This is better for Sparta." Next morning, he told his dream to Cleomenes. At first, Cleomenes was alarmed, for he feared that the ephors had a suspicion of his design, and that he related this dream only for the purpose of testing him. As soon, however, as he was convinced that this was not the case, he dismissed the dreamer; and, taking with him all the citizens whom he most distrusted as opposed to his design, he seized Herea and Alsæa, two cities of Arcadia, which had joined the Achæans; furnished Orchomenus with provisions, and pitched his camp before Mantinæa, where Aratus had left a garrison. Having, by long marches, so

wearied the Spartans that the greater part of them begged to be left in Arcadia, he returned, with his mercenaries, to Sparta. On the road, he opened his scheme to those whom he could trust; and they slowly approached the city, for the purpose of surprising the ephors while at supper. As soon as he came near the city, he sent Euryclidas before him to the ephors, as though he had some news for them from the camp. Euryclidas was followed by Therecion and Phœbis, and two other youths who had been brought up with Cleomenes, accompanied by a small body of soldiers. While Euryclidas was conversing with the ephors, his companions rushed on them with drawn swords. Agesilaus was the first who was wounded. He fell, pretending to be dead; but he slowly drew up his limbs, rolled off the couch, and silently crawled to the temple of Fear; a small building, which, though closed in ordinary, happened then to be opened. As soon as he had entered, he closed the door. The other four ephors were killed, besides many more persons who had come to their assistance. Such as remained quiet were neither killed, nor prevented from escaping out of the city. They even spared Agesilaus, when he came forth from his hiding place the next day.

13. On the morning after the murder of the ephors, Cleomenes condemned to banishment eighty of the citizens. He removed all the seats of the ephors except one, in which he sat himself to administer justice. He then summoned an assembly of the people, to vindicate before them what he had done. He showed them that Lycurgus had associated elder citizens with the kings, and that, for a long time, Sparta had been governed by him, without requiring any other magistrate. Afterwards, when the kings were occupied for a long time in the war with the Messenians, and had not leisure for the administration of justice, they appointed some of their friends to discharge that duty, under the name of ephors. The ephors, who had been at first only the ministers of the kings, had gradually drawn all the power of the government into their own hands. So long as they had kept within tolerable bounds, it was, he said, better to bear with them; but when they destroyed the ancient constitution, deposed kings, and even put them to death without trial, and threatened those who desired to bring back Sparta to her ori-

ginal glory;—then, indeed, it was time to destroy these usurpers. "If without bloodshed," he added, "we could have rooted out such plagues as luxury, extravagance, debts, poverty, and riches, I should have thought myself the happiest of kings: like a physician, healing my diseased country without inflicting pain. In what I have been forced to do, I follow the example of Lycurgus, who, though he was neither a king, nor appointed to the magistracy, but a private citizen,—acted as a king, and went, armed, into the forum. The king Charilaus fled in terror to the altar; but being a peaceful prince, and a lover of his country, he immediately joined Lycurgus, and gave his sanction to the change he had made in the government. Lycurgus, therefore, is a witness that the government cannot be changed without making use of force and terror. I have used these means with the utmost moderation to remove those men who stood in the way of Sparta's welfare. Among all the other citizens, I shall divide the whole land. Debts shall be cancelled. From the strangers that are among us the best shall be enrolled as citizens, that they may become our defenders, and our country may no longer be a prey to the Illyrians and the Ætolians, because she has too few of her own people for her protection."

14. After this artful speech, Cleomenes set the example of giving up his own patrimony to the state. Megistonous, his father-in-law, did the same. So did each of the other friends of Cleomenes. All the other citizens followed their example. The land was divided. Lots were assigned even to those who had been banished; and Cleomenes showed his intention to recall them from their exile, as soon as the affairs of the state were peacefully settled. The number of citizens were filled up by the most approved men from neighbouring states. Cleomenes then raised a force of four thousand infantry. After this, he turned his attention to the education of the young; and, with the help of Sphærus, he restored the ancient Spartan discipline. Their exercises and their public tables soon wore the aspect of the olden time; the greater part of the citizens adopting this mode of living of their own accord, and the few that disliked it being compelled to adopt it by force. To prevent offence being taken at the sovereignty he exercised, Cleomenes adopted his brother

Euclidas as his colleague in the throne. This appears to have been the only time in which the Spartans had two kings belonging to the same family.

15. Cleomenes was aware that Aratus and the Achæans might expect him now to be unwilling to leave Sparta, during the unsettled state into which the citizens were brought by their great changes. To show his enemies the promptitude and alacrity with which he could bring his army into the field, he made an incursion into the territories of Megalopolis, which he laid waste, carrying away with him a large quantity of the spoils. Having captured some comedians coming from Messene, he erected a theatre in the enemy's country, and expended forty minæ on an exhibition at which he passed a whole day: not that he cared for such diversions; for he alone, of all the Grecian or Persian generals of that age, was unattended by dancers; but because he wished to insult his enemies, and to display his superiority by letting them see how he despised them. He allowed no revelling in his army. The younger men passed the greater part of their time in exercise, and the elder men in teaching them. When at leisure, their amusements consisted in cheerful conversation, or in encounters of wit.

16. The king himself was the teacher of all the citizens. By the simplicity and frugality of his own habits, which were in no respect more free or more splendid than those of private men, he set them an example of such self-government as was most admired in Sparta. This practice was attended with great advantage to him, in the public affairs of Greece. When the Greeks had to do with other kings, they did not admire their riches and magnificence so much as they detested the haughtiness with which they treated them; but when they approached Cleomenes, who was really a king, and bore that title, they saw no purple, no robes of state, no sumptuous carriages, no crowds of officers, no trains of porters and messengers to carry letters backward and forward, nor was there any difficulty of access; on the contrary, the king himself, in a common cloak, met them with a hearty welcome, and conversed with them affably and freely. All who approached him were captivated with his easy manners; and,

in the language of their pagan superstition, they declared that he was the only descendant of Hercules.

17. His daily supper was at a small Spartan table, with couches for three persons. When he received ambassadors or foreigners, two other couches were added, and the service was a little increased, not with a profusion of dainties, but with a larger supply of ordinary food, and a more costly wine. One day, he reproved a certain friend for placing the coarse bread and black broth of the Spartan meals before some visitors; for he thought that it was not well to be too strictly *laconic* with strangers. After supper, a brazen vase filled with wine was placed on a tripod, with some silver cups out of which they who were so inclined might drink; but none were pressed to do so. There was no music; nor was the want of it felt, for Cleomenes entertained the guests with his conversation, sometimes asking questions, and at others giving information. There was nothing severe nor sad; but the gravest discourses were enlivened with a graceful pleasantry. The arts by which other kings corrupted men, he regarded as coarse and unjust; but to gain them by the charms of conversation carried on with sincerity, was, in his esteem, honourable, and most becoming the dignity of a sovereign; for the only difference he professed to know between a hireling and a friend was, that the one is bought with money, and the other is won with courtesy.

18. The first people that sought the assistance of Cleomenes were the Mantinæans. Under his guidance, they drove the Achæan garrison from their city in the night, and then they placed themselves under his protection. Having restored to them their ancient laws and institutions, Cleomenes departed on the same day to Tegea. From thence he marched around the frontiers of Arcadia to Pheræ in Achaia, to provoke the Achæans to a battle, or to brand Aratus in their eyes as a coward who gave up the country to be trampled by their enemy: for though Hyperbatus was then the Achæan general, almost the whole authority was in the hand of Aratus. The Achæans mustered their entire force at Dymæ, near the temple of Hecatombæon. Cleomenes moved to the same point. He was thought not to have acted with sufficient prudence in placing himself between the hostile city of the Dymæans

and the Achæan camp; but, by boldly harassing the Achæans, he made them come to a pitched battle, in which he gained the victory. He afterwards drove out an Achæan garrison from Lango, and restored that town to the Eleans.

19. In the miserable state to which the Achæans were reduced, Aratus, who had been so long accustomed to take the command every second year, now resisted the entreaties of the people, and refused to serve his country in her utmost need. At first, Cleomenes seemed to the humbled Achæans to insist on hard conditions of peace; but afterwards he sent his own ambassadors to them, asking them to appoint him to the command of the League, and assuring them that, this being granted, he would easily agree with them in other respects; and that he would instantly restore the prisoners and the lands of which he had now the possession. The Achæans were glad to accept of peace on these conditions. They summoned a general assembly of the states, to which they invited Cleomenes. But Cleomenes, in his hasty march to the meeting, had imprudently taken a draught of cold water, which threw him into a violent sickness, and deprived him of his voice. He sent the noblest of the prisoners to the Achæans, but he was obliged to put off the day of assembling, and to return forthwith to Sparta.

20. Thus it was that the affairs of Greece were brought to ruin. But for this unexpected calamity, she might both have raised herself from her miseries, and escaped the grasp of the contemptuous and greedy Macedonians. Aratus, either distrusting Cleomenes, or envying the unlooked-for prosperity by which this youth was advanced to that honour which he had himself enjoyed for three-and-thirty years, endeavoured to dissuade the Achæans from entering into the projected treaty with the Spartan king; but when the Achæans, smitten with admiration of Cleomenes, were persuaded that what he proposed would be only to bring back Peloponnesus to its ancient state, Aratus did a deed unworthy of any Greek, but most of all unworthy of his own former actions. He summoned Antigonus to Greece, and filled the Peloponnesus with Macedonians. In his youth he had wrested the citadel of Corinth from the Macedonians. He had rendered himself odious to all kings. He had loaded

Antigonus especially with unmeasured reproaches. It had been his boast that he had suffered and exposed himself to dangers, in delivering the Athenians from the garrison of the Macedonians; yet, after all these exploits, he received these same Macedonians into his country, and not into his country only, but even into the most retired chambers of his house. While he shrank from the coarse bread, the plain cloak, and the equal liberties of Sparta, he subjected the Achæans to the diadem and the purple; and he obeyed the edicts of the Macedonians and satraps, rather than submit to the authority of Cleomenes. He even celebrated sacrifices dedicated to Antigonus; and, crowned with chaplets, sang hymns to this frail and diseased mortal as to a god. These things are not said to darken the character of Aratus, for he was, in many respects, one of the most illustrious of the Greeks; but it is well that we should see the debasement of human nature, which so signally failed in producing, even under favourable circumstances, a consistent character.

21. The Achæans assembled again at Argos; Cleomenes went down from Tegea to meet them. There was a strong hope that peace would be secured; but Aratus had already agreed on the principal points with Antigonus. He feared that Cleomenes would either persuade or force the multitude to adopt his proposals. To prevent this, he demanded that Cleomenes should accept three hundred hostages for his personal safety, and come to the Achæans at Argos by himself, or that he should remove his army to the gymnasium outside of their city. To these demands Cleomenes objected. He said that they were treating him unjustly; they ought to have made these proposals before, and not to distrust him and drive him away, now that he had come to their very doors. He therefore wrote a letter to the Achæans respecting these demands, filled with complaints against Aratus. Aratus, in his addresses to the Achæans, launched out into violent abuse of Cleomenes. Cleomenes then led back his army without delay, and he sent a herald to declare war against the Achæans.

22. The whole Achæan League was now in a state of distraction. Most of the states included in it were ready to fall away: the multitude were hoping for the distribution of the lands, and the abolition of debts: the rich were tired

of the domination of Aratus, and not a few of them were enraged at his calling the Macedonians into Peloponnesus. Encouraged by all this, Cleomenes invaded Achaia. He surprised and expelled the Achæan garrison at Pellene, and then he took Pheneum and Penteleum. The Achæans, afraid of treasonable practices at Corinth and at Sicyon, had sent their cavalry and their hired infantry to garrison those cities, while they went to celebrate the Nemean games at Argos. Cleomenes, hoping to throw the Achæans into confusion by attacking Argos during these solemnities, moved his army to the walls in the night. He occupied the region called Aspis, a place almost inaccessible, above the theatre. The people were so astounded that no man thought of defending himself. They received a garrison, gave twenty of their citizens as hostages, and entered into alliance with the Spartans, under the entire command of Cleomenes.

23. Cleomenes acquired no small reputation and authority by the taking of Argos. The earlier kings of the Spartans, when at the greatest height of their power, had never succeeded in getting a firm hold on Argos. Pyrrhus himself, a most able general, could not subject that city to his power after he had taken it by assault, but lost his own life, with the greater part of his army, in making the attempt. For these reasons the diligence and sagacity of Cleomenes were the more admired. They who before had derided him, when he professed to trace the steps of Solon and Lycurgus in abolishing debts and equalizing property, were now fully persuaded that he was the author of the change which had come over the spirit of the Spartans. They had been so degenerate, and so unable to defend themselves, that the Ætolians had made an incursion into Laconia, and carried away fifty thousand slaves, on which occasion an aged Spartan is reported to have said, "Our enemies have done us good in relieving Laconia of such a burden;" but in a short time after they had returned to the ancient customs of their country, as if Lycurgus had been present, they gave the highest proof of courage and of obedience to the magistrates, restoring to Sparta the empire of Greece, and the entire command of the Peloponnesus.

24. The towns of Cleone and Phlius, between Argos and Corinth, surrendered to Cleomenes. Aratus was then at Corinth, inquiring after such persons as were favourable to

the Spartans. When he heard of the successes of Cleomenes, and found the Corinthians favourable to the conqueror, he summoned the citizens to a council; and, in the mean time, fled on horseback to Sicyon. It is related by Aratus, in his history, that the Corinthians were in such haste to report to Cleomenes at Argos what had happened in their city, that they ran their horses to death. Cleomenes reproached the Corinthians for letting Aratus escape. But, as Aratus himself relates, Megistonous came to him from Cleomenes, offering him a large sum of money, if he would deliver the citadel of Corinth, which was held by his garrison.

25. As Cleomenes marched from Argos to Corinth, he gained the Trœzenians, the Epidaurians, and the Hermionians for allies. On reaching Corinth, he laid siege to the Acropolis, which the Achæans refused to abandon. But he sent for the friends and agents of Aratus, and ordered them to take care of his house and property in that city. He also sent Tritymallus, the Messenian, to Aratus, proposing that the garrison in the Acropolis should consist of one half Achæans, and one half Spartans, and offering to him, privately, a pension twice as large as that which he was receiving from Ptolemy, king of Egypt. Aratus declined these proposals, and sent his son, with other hostages, to Antigonus; and at the same time, he persuaded the Achæans in the Acropolis to give up that citadel to Antigonus. Cleomenes, therefore, laid waste the territories of Sicyon, and, by a decree of the Corinthians, took possession of the property belonging to Aratus. Antigonus crossed the Geranian mountain, which lay between Megara and Corinth, with a great army. Cleomenes did not think it prudent to encounter Antigonus in the isthmus of Corinth. He, therefore, fortified the Onæan mountains, choosing to harass the Macedonians from that advantageous position, rather than meet such experienced troops in a pitched battle. By adopting this plan, Cleomenes reduced Antigonus to the greatest perplexity. Antigonus had not prepared provisions enough to keep his army where it was; and he was not able to force his passage through the defile which was guarded by Cleomenes. One night he tried to pass into Peloponnesus by Lechæum, the western harbour of Corinth; but he was driven back with a heavy loss of soldiers.

26. Cleomenes was now in high spirits; and his men, rejoicing in their victory over Antigonus, betook themselves to supper. Antigonus was sorely depressed. He seemed to be pressed with insuperable difficulties. His determination was to reach, if possible, the promontory of Heræum, and from thence to transport his men in boats to Sicyon—a work which would have required a long time, and extraordinary preparations. While Antigonus was in this perplexity, some friends of Aratus came to him by sea, and told him that Argos was revolting from Cleomenes. Aristotle, the architect, had not found it very difficult to work up the people of Argos to this revolt, since Cleomenes had disappointed them by not abolishing debts, as they had expected. Aratus, with fifteen hundred soldiers belonging to Antigonus, went by sea to Epidaurus. Aristotle, without waiting for Aratus, assembled the citizens; and, with the help of Timoxenes, who brought the Achæans from Sicyon, laid siege to the citadel.

27. It was the second watch of the night when Cleomenes was startled with this intelligence. Stung almost to madness, he sent for Megistonous, who had pledged himself for the fidelity of the Argives, and had thus prevented the ejection of parties suspected of meditating a revolt. He ordered him to march immediately with two thousand men to the relief of the Spartans in Argos. He then employed himself in watching the movements of Antigonus. He assured the Corinthians that nothing had happened at Argos beyond a slight disturbance, made by an inconsiderable party. Megistonous reached Argos; but he was killed in an engagement. The Spartan garrison could scarcely maintain its position. They sent frequent messages to Cleomenes. Cleomenes apprehended that the enemy, after securing Argos, would shut up the passes against him, and then pillage Laconia at their ease, and even lay siege to Sparta itself. For this reason, he led his army away from Corinth; but he had scarcely left that city, when Antigonus entered it, and placed a garrison there.

28. Cleomenes approached the walls of Argos; and, after an unsuccessful attempt to scale them, he forced a passage through the vaults under the Aspis, and joined his garrison, which was still holding out against the Achæans. He then took by assault other quarters of

the city, and cleared the streets of the enemy; but as soon as he saw Antigonus pouring down his phalanx from the mountains to the plain, and his cavalry moving in dense masses on the city, he gave up all hope of standing his ground; and, collecting his forces, he retired along the walls in safety, and escaped.

29. Thus Cleomenes lost all his conquests, in less time than it had taken to win them. Some of his allies deserted him at once; others, soon after, surrendered their cities to Antigonus. As he was returning, broken by misfortune, messengers from Sparta met him in the evening, near Tegea, with tidings of a calamity not less hard to bear: his wife was dead. So strong and tender had been his attachment to her, that he is said to have often withdrawn from his army, in the full career of conquest, to enjoy her society at Sparta. It was natural that he should be deeply afflicted, when, yet in his youth, he lost a wife so beautiful and so beloved. Still, he did not sink beneath the storm of grief; but, preserving the usual tone of his voice and manner, he gave his orders to his officers, and attended to the security of Tegea. At break of day, however, he returned to Sparta. After a brief space of mourning, with his mother and his children, he immediately attended to public affairs. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, promised to send him succour, but demanded his mother, Cratesiclea, and his children as hostages. For a long time, Cleomenes could not venture to mention this demand to his mother. As he was often silent and embarrassed in her presence, she suspected him, and asked his friends what it was that Cleomenes seemed anxious, yet afraid, to say. At length Cleomenes took courage, and told her. She laughed heartily, and said, "Is this what you have been afraid to mention to me? Why not put us on board a ship, and send this body wherever you think it may be of use to Sparta, before it is consumed with old age?"

30. Every preparation was made for the voyage, and the whole army accompanied the royal hostages to Tænarus. As Cratesiclea was about to embark, she conducted her son, alone, to the temple of Neptune. There she kissed him, and embraced him, as he stood weeping bitterly, and said to him, "King of Sparta! as we leave this temple, let no man see us weeping, nor acting otherwise than be-

comes the dignity of Sparta; for this alone is in our power: the issue of these things is in the hands of God." Having thus spoken, she composed her countenance, and went on board the vessel with her infant grandson in her arms, and gave directions to the pilot to sail without delay. When she reached Egypt, she found that Ptolemy was giving a friendly reception to the ambassadors of Antigonus. She also learned that her son Cleomenes, who was solicited by the Achæans to agree to terms of peace, was afraid of acting without the consent of Ptolemy, who had his mother at his disposal. She wrote to Cleomenes, urging him to do what was best for Sparta, and not be always afraid of Ptolemy, for the sake of an old woman and a little child.

31. Antigonus soon became master of Tegea, and rifled Orchomenus and Mantinæa. Cleomenes was now shut up within the limits of Laconia. By emancipating all the Helots who could pay five Attic minæ, he raised fifty talents. He then armed two thousand of his men in the Macedonian fashion, to oppose the spearmen of Antigonus. Cleomenes now formed a project, for which none could have been prepared. At that time, Megalopolis was not inferior in extent and power to Sparta. The city was protected by both the Achæans and the Macedonians. Cleomenes ordered his troops to take five days' provender, and he led them to Sellasia, as if intending to invade the territory of Argos. From thence he came down on the country of the Megalopolitans; and, having supped at Rhætium, marched directly for Megalopolis. When he had come near the city, he dispatched Panteus, with two Spartan companies, to occupy the wall between the two towers, a part which he understood to be quite neglected by the Megalopolitans. Cleomenes himself slowly followed, with the remainder of his army. Panteus found the whole wall on that side of the city undefended; he occupied some parts, and pulled down others, and put all the guards he met with to death, so that Cleomenes was actually within the walls, before the citizens were aware of his approach. When, at length, they saw what had happened, some of the citizens made their escape with their precious movables; others took arms, and made such resistance, that, though they could not drive away the

Spartans, they allowed time for the fugitives to escape in safety. Not more than a thousand men remained in the city; the rest had fled, with their wives and children, to Messene. The greater part of those even who had fought for the defence of their city took flight, and, consequently, very few were taken prisoners. Among the prisoners taken were Lysandridas and Thearidas, the chief men of the place, whom the soldiers brought to Cleomenes. When Lysandridas saw Cleomenes at a distance, he called out to him with a loud voice, saying, "King of the Spartans, you may now do something more worthy of a king than even that which you have already done." Suspecting his meaning, Cleomenes said, "What do you mean, Lysandridas? you would not have me to restore the city to you?" "That," said Lysandridas, "is what I mean. I advise you not to destroy so important a city; rather, as her restorer, fill her with your friends." After Cleomenes had paused awhile, he said, "It is hard to believe; but let honour prevail above interest." Having said this, he sent them back, accompanied by a herald, offering to restore their city to the Megalopolitans, on condition that they should renounce the Achæan League, and ally themselves with Sparta. But Philopœmen would not allow them to accept these liberal terms. He represented Cleomenes as seeking, not to restore the city, but to get the citizens into his own power. He drove away Lysandridas and Thearidas from Messene. This is the Philopœmen who was afterwards the chief of the Achæans.

32. When Cleomenes heard that the Megalopolitans rejected his proposals, he was enraged. He had not only spared the city, but had preserved everything in it from the touch of his soldiers. But now, in his wicked fury, he gave up everything to pillage, sent the statues and pictures to Sparta, and levelled the walls and the best quarters of the city to the earth. As he apprehended that either the Achæans or Antigonus might attack him, he returned home. The Achæans were at that time holding a general council at Ægium. When Aratus rose to address them, he wept for a long time, covering his face with his cloak. The astonished assembly called on him to speak. He said, "Cleomenes has destroyed Megalopolis!" The *assembly* was instantly broken up. The Achæans were

overwhelmed with astonishment at a calamity so terrible and so sudden. Antigonus would have gone to the relief of Megalopolis; but his troops came up so slowly from their winter quarters, that he ordered them to remain where they were; and he went himself, with such troops as were at hand, to Argos.

33. The second enterprise of Cleomenes was considered to be rash and foolish; but Polybius assures us that it was undertaken with great foresight and skill: for, knowing that the Macedonians were scattered about in their several quarters, and that Antigonus had only a few friends and some mercenaries with him at Argos, he invaded the lands belonging to Argos, hoping that Antigonus would be compelled by shame to give him battle, and be defeated, or that, if he refused, he would sink in the estimation of the Achæans. And it came to pass as he expected. The Argives, seeing their property wasted by Cleomenes, crowded around the gate of Antigonus, calling on him either to go out against the invader, or to yield to bolder men who would. But Antigonus, like a cautious general, believing that it was less disgraceful to be upbraided by strangers, than to leave a place of safety, and rashly commit himself to the risk of a defeat, held firmly by his first resolution, and refused to fight. Cleomenes then led his army up to the walls of Argos, and, after spreading ruin over all the level country, retired towards Sparta. A short time after, he heard that Antigonus had reached Tegea, with the intention of invading Laconia. Promptly assembling his troops, he returned by a different road to Argos, ravaging the country until he reached the city, at the dawn of day. He did not cut the standing corn with sickles or with swords, but beat it down with staves shaped like scimitars, as if it were done merely for the amusement of his men. But when they came to Cyllarabis, and were carrying torches to burn down the place, Cleomenes prevented it; showing that his late savage destruction of Megalopolis had been dictated by his bad passions, and not by any honourable motive.

34. Antigonus returned at once from Tegea to Argos, occupying with his troops all the adjacent heights. Cleomenes affected to despise the movements of the Macedonian king. He sent heralds into Argos, to demand the

keys of the temple of Juno, that he might offer a sacrifice to that goddess. Having mocked Antigonus and the Argives, and sacrificed to Juno outside the closed temple, he withdrew his forces to Phlius. He then drove the garrison out of the Arcadian town of Ologuntum, and went down to Orchomenus. By all these proceedings Cleomenes not only raised the spirits of his own people, but gave his enemies a high opinion of his abilities and courage. When they saw the single state of Sparta standing out against the whole Peloponnesus, aided by the power of the Macedonians and the treasures of the king, and not only defending Laconia from insult, but foraging in the fields of their enemies, and taking so many cities, they knew that Cleomenes was a prince of no common valour and énergy of mind.

35. Antigonus entered on this war with one great advantage over Cleomenes: he possessed ample funds; while Cleomenes found it difficult to pay his mercenaries, or to provide food for his Spartans. In other respects, the times were favourable to Cleomenes. Antigonus was called home to his kingdom, for in his absence the Barbarians of the north had ravaged Macedonia. If the messengers to recall Antigonus to the defence of Macedonia had reached him before the battle of Sellasia, Antigonus would have bid the Achæans a long farewell; but they did not arrive till after that battle, in which Cleomenes was defeated and lost his city. If he could have held back for two days only, he would not have needed to draw a sword. After the withdrawment of the Macedonians, he might have dictated what terms he pleased to the Achæans. But his poverty forced him to rely on his arms, and, with twenty thousand men, to fight against thirty thousand. His generalship was admirable; the Spartans behaved with undaunted courage; his mercenaries were little inferior: but the Macedonians were better armed, and they bore him down by the force of their heavy phalanx. Phylarchus relates that the ruin of Cleomenes was owing to the perfidy of one of his own officers. Antigonus had ordered the Illyrians and the Acarnanians to take a circuit, and secretly surround the Spartan wing, commanded by Euclidas, the brother of Cleomenes. Having given this order, Antigonus himself drew up the rest of his army for battle.

Cleomenes stood on a height, from which he surveyed the preparations of Antigonus; but not seeing the standards of the Illyrians and the Acarnanians, he suspected that Antigonus had some stratagem in hand. He sent for Damoteles, the officer whose duty it was to guard the camp from ambuscades and surprises, and ordered him to look well after what was going on in the rear and flank of the army. Damoteles, who, it is said, had been bribed by Antigonus, told him that all was right in those quarters, and that all he had to do was to conquer those who were in front. Satisfied with this report, Cleomenes pressed on against Antigonus. The Macedonian phalanx gave way before the charge of the Spartans, who still bore on them with such force, that they were pushed back nearly a mile; but Cleomenes saw his brother surrounded by the Illyrians and Acarnanians. He halted, and seeing the danger of Euclidas, he cried, "Thou art lost, dearest brother! thou art lost, thou noble example to the youths of Sparta! thou theme of the songs of the women!" Euclidas and his wing were cut off; their conquerors assailed Cleomenes, who seeing his men stricken and confounded, saved himself by flight. In this battle, it is reported, nearly all his mercenaries perished; and out of six thousand Spartans, only two hundred escaped.

36. When Cleomenes reached Sparta, he advised the citizens to go out and meet Antigonus, and to admit him into their city. "As for me," he said, "I devote myself to the welfare of Sparta, whether by life or by death." When he saw the women running to meet those who accompanied him in his flight, taking off their armour, and offering them wine, he retired to his own house. A free-born young girl, whom he had brought as a captive from Megalopolis, and who had waited upon him since the death of his wife, hastened to meet him, according to her custom, when he came from the war. But though burning with thirst, he refused to drink; and though worn out with fatigue he refused to rest; but he leaned against a column, with his head on his arm. After revolving, for a few moments, all the plans that arose to his thoughts, he went, with some of his friends, to Gytheum. There they embarked in some vessels which had been prepared for him, and put to sea.

37. The first place at which Cleomenes touched was the isle of Cythera, near the Laconian coast; from thence he proceeded to Ægialia, an island further east. When about to pass from thence to Cyrene, one of his friends, named Therycion, a brave warrior, but haughty in discourse, came to him privately and said—"We have lost, O king, the opportunity of a glorious death in battle, though all men heard us boast that Antigonus should never conquer the king of Sparta until he had slain him. Now an opportunity second to that, in glory and in virtue, is presented to us, whither are we heedlessly sailing? Why should we flee from a death that is at hand to one that is far off? If it be no dishonour to the descendants of Hercules to submit to the successors of Philip and Alexander, let us spare ourselves the long voyage, and give ourselves up to Antigonus, who must be as much superior to Ptolemy as the Macedonians are to the Egyptians; but if we disdain to obey those who have conquered us by their arms, why should we submit to him who has not conquered us, and thus acknowledge two superiors instead of one—fleeing from Antigonus and making court to Ptolemy? Shall we say that you are going to Egypt for the sake of your mother? Truly you will be a noble and proud spectacle for her when she shows her son, who was a king, now a captive and an exile, to the wives of Ptolemy! No, as long as we are masters of our swords, and have Laconia still in view, let us rescue ourselves from this misery, and justify ourselves to those who have fallen for Sparta at Sellasia, rather than sit down in Egypt asking—'Whom has Antigonus left as his satrap in Sparta?'"

38. Cleomenes replied to Therycion thus:—"Thinkest thou, wretched man, to show thy bravery by putting an end to life, the easiest resort of mortals, and within the reach of all; or by suggesting a flight more dishonourable than the first? Better men than we, deceived by Fortune, or overwhelmed by numbers, have yielded to their enemies; but he who flies from toils and troubles because of men's applauses and reproaches, is vanquished by his own cowardice. It is alike shameful to live or to die only for ourselves. By hastening to escape from present calamity nothing else would be secured that is either honourable or advantageous. I indeed think that neither of us should

despair of yet saving our country. When that hope deserts us, it will not be a difficult thing to die." Therycion made no reply to this, but as soon as he had an opportunity of leaving Cleomenes, he went down to the shore and stabbed himself.

39. Cleomenes sailed from Ægialia to the coast of Africa, and was escorted to Alexandria by the officers of the king. When he was presented to Ptolemy (Euergetes) the first time he found him sufficiently humane and benignant; but when he had given proof of his own intelligence and wit, and unbending dignity in all the changes of outward condition, Ptolemy took more pleasure in his simple Spartan conversation than in the blandishments and flatteries of other courtiers. He repented that he had neglected such a man, and had permitted Antigonus to acquire so much glory and wealth by conquering him. He showed Cleomenes every mark of honourable consideration and good-will, and gave him hopes that he would send him to Greece with ships and money, and restore him to his kingdom. He assigned for his use twenty-four talents a year. Out of this revenue Cleomenes supported himself and his friends with modest frugality, and expended all the rest on Grecian exiles who had, like himself, sought a home in Egypt. But the elder Ptolemy died before he could fulfil his promise of restoring Cleomenes. After the death of that king, the court became licentious and corrupt, and the Spartan king and his affairs were forgotten. The new king (Ptolemy Philopater) was so dissolute that, even in his soberest hours, he abandoned himself to the celebration of superstitious mysteries, running up and down his palace beating a tambourine, leaving the weighty affairs of state to a courtesan named Agathoclea, with her mother, and to Œnanthes, who pandered to his pleasures.

40. In the beginning of Ptolemy Philopater's reign, it appears that he made some use of Cleomenes; for he was afraid of his own brother Magus, who had great influence with their mother, as well as with the army. For this reason Ptolemy admitted Cleomenes to his councils. In those councils Ptolemy deliberated on putting his brother Magus to death. The rest of the council favoured this wicked design; but Cleomenes deterred him from it by saying that, if it were possible, the king should rather increase

the number of his brothers, with a view to the security and perpetuity of his kingdom. When Sosibius, the principal of the king's friends, said that "the fidelity of the foreign soldiers could not be relied on so long as Magus lived," Cleomenes answered—"As it regards that, you may be perfectly at ease; for among these foreign soldiers more than three thousand are Peloponnesians, strongly attached to me, who will be in arms at my bidding." This speech of Cleomenes, for the present, inspired the king of Egypt with no small confidence in him, and gave him a high opinion of the Spartan prince's authority. Soon after, however, Ptolemy's fears increased with his weakness, as is usual with persons of feeble understanding, and the courtiers dreaded Cleomenes as a lion among sheep. So indeed he might well appear as he silently observed the corrupt manners of the court.

41. At last, Cleomenes gave up all hope of the ships and soldiers which he had expected from the Egyptian government. He heard of the death of Antigonus. He was likewise informed that the Achæans were involved in war with the Ætolians; and that the troubled state of Peloponnesus demanded his own presence there. He applied to Ptolemy to permit himself and his friends to go to Greece. But he could not obtain his object. The king was unapproachable; his nights and days were filled with revelling and dissipation. The whole power of the government was in the hands of Sosibius, who saw that though Cleomenes might become a formidable enemy in Egypt, if detained there against his will, yet if he were sent to Greece, his knowledge of the disordered state of the Egyptian government might make so bold and restless a prince a still more formidable enemy.

42. Such was the state of affairs when Nicagoras, the Messenian, came to Alexandria. This man hated Cleomenes, though he carried the appearance of friendship: he had sold him a pleasantly-situated farm; but the money had not been paid, either because the purchaser had not the means, or because he was engaged in war. Cleomenes saw Nicagoras land at Alexandria, for he happened to be walking on the pier: he saluted him cordially, and asked him what business led him to Egypt. Nicagoras returned his salutation with light courtesy, and replied, that he had

brought some war-horses for the king. Cleomenes said to him, "You would have been more welcome, if you had brought some dancers and singers; for these are the things in which Ptolemy takes most pleasure." Nicagoras smiled at the time; but, a few days after, he reminded Cleomenes of his debt; and, being disappointed by his inability to pay him, he repeated his jest on the king to Sosibius. Sosibius gladly received such an occasion of injuring Cleomenes; but, wishing to have a graver matter of accusation against him, he induced Nicagoras to leave behind him a letter addressed to Ptolemy, stating that if Cleomenes had received ships and troops from him, he would have taken possession of Cyrene. Nicagoras wrote the letter and departed. Four days after, Sosibius presented the letter to Ptolemy, as if he had just received it. The young king was so enraged, that he determined to shut up Cleomenes in his house, without permission to leave it.

43. Cleomenes was now thrown into deep affliction. His prospects were also rendered more gloomy by another circumstance. He had contracted an intimate friendship with Ptolemy, son of Chrysermus, who was a great favourite with the king. In his distress, Cleomenes had requested this friend to visit him. He came to him, and by his conversation removed his apprehensions, while he justified the conduct of the king. When he took his departure, he did not notice that Cleomenes followed him to the gate; where he sharply rebuked the guards for so carelessly watching a wild beast, whom it would be hard to catch, if he escaped. Cleomenes heard these words; and, retiring without being perceived, he repeated them to his friends. The hopes they had entertained were now turned into wrath. They determined to avenge themselves on Ptolemy; and, instead of waiting, like victims to be led to the altar, to meet their death like Spartans. They were indignant that Cleomenes, who had disdained to submit to such a warrior as Antigonus, should wait till such a trifler as Ptolemy was in a mood for laying aside his other amusements, and putting him to death.

44. The king of Egypt had gone to Canopus. The friends of Cleomenes at Alexandria industriously propagated a report that he was to be released from his confinement. Now, it

was the custom of the kings of Egypt to send a supper and presents to such as were to be restored to liberty. The friends of Cleomenes, therefore, sent into the city large provisions; making the sentinels believe that they had come from the king; for they saw Cleomenes, crowned with flowers, offering sacrifice, and liberally distributing portions of the banquet among his guards. It is said that Cleomenes hastened his proceedings, because one of his servants, who was in the secret, had been out all night, and he feared that he might betray him to his enemies. At mid-day, therefore, while his guards slept, under the effects of the previous night's festivities, he put on his tunic, and rushed out of his prison, sword in hand, accompanied by thirteen of his friends, armed in the same manner. One of their number, named Hippotas, being lame, and seeing that the rest were moving slowly on his account, besought them to kill him, and not endanger their enterprize for the sake of a useless man. An Alexandrian was leading a horse near a gate; on this horse they placed Hippotas; and they ran through the streets of the city, calling on the people to assert their freedom. The people admired and approved of the boldness of Cleomenes, but none dared to follow or to help him. Three of his associates met Ptolemy, son of Chrysermus, coming from the palace, and slew him. Another Ptolemy, prefect of the city, approached them in his chariot. After dispersing his attendants, they dragged him from his chariot and killed him. They then proceeded to the citadel, with the intention of strengthening their party by the addition of the prisoners; but the keepers anticipated them by barricading the gates. Having failed in this scheme, they wandered up and down the city, but there were none to join them. Cleomenes stopped, and said to his companions, "No wonder that women should rule these men, who flee from liberty." He then exhorted them all to die in a manner worthy of themselves and of their history. Hippotas begged that he might die first, and he fell by the hand of one of the younger men. Each of the rest immediately slew himself with his own sword, excepting Panteus, who had taken the lead in the capture of Megalopolis. He was much loved by Cleomenes, who now ordered his friend to put himself to death, as soon as he saw that he and all the

others were dead. As they lay stretched upon the ground, Panteus pierced each of them with his poniard, and tried if any life remained. When he pricked the sole of Cleomenes's foot, he observed a slight movement in his face: he kissed him, sat beside him till he ceased to breathe, and then, embracing the lifeless body, killed himself upon it. Such was the end of Cleomenes, after reigning sixteen years.

45. As soon as the report of Cleomenes's death had spread through Alexandria, Cratesiclea, his mother, noble-minded as she was, could not bear up under this calamity, but, embracing the children of her son, was lost in grief. The elder of the children escaped, unobserved, to the roof of the house, from which he threw himself headlong; but, though he was much injured, he was taken up alive, crying and raging because they would not let him die.

46. Ptolemy ordered the body of Cleomenes to be wrapped in skins and crucified, and his children, together with his mother and her female attendants, to be put to death. Among these was the wife of Panteus, a woman of majestic beauty. They had not been long married when Panteus accompanied Cleomenes to Alexandria. She would have gone with him, but her parents used force to detain her. In a short time, however, she made her escape with a horse and a little money to Tænarus, embarked for Egypt, and became the cheerful companion and solace of her husband in his exile. She led Cratesiclea by the hand, and consoled her when the soldiers came to put her to death. Cratesiclea was not afraid to die: all she desired was that she might suffer before the children; but when they came to the fatal spot the children were slain before her eyes, and then she was put to death. In all her affliction her only words were—"O my children, where are ye?" The widow of Panteus, who was strong and tall, girded on her robe, and with silent calmness wrapped each of the murdered women in a decent covering. Last of all, she prepared for her own death. Without permitting any one to approach her but the executioner, she composed her robe, leaving nothing to be done for her after her decease, and preserving in death the same dignified delicacy with which she had taken care of her person while she lived. So did Sparta show, in

the emulation of her matrons with her heroes, that patriotism cannot be subdued by force.

47. It is said that the men who watched the body of Cleomenes on the cross saw a huge serpent winding his folds around his head, and covering his face so as to defend it from the birds of prey. Superstition and terror seized the king of Egypt. The women offered various sacrifices. It was believed, by these terrified pagans, that Ptolemy had caused the death of one who was dear to the gods, and superior to human nature. The people of Alexandria crowded to the place, and invoked Cleomenes as a hero, and a son of the gods. This superstition was checked by their wiser men, who taught them that, as bees are bred in the bodies of oxen, wasps in horses, and beetles in asses, so serpents feed on the marrow of the human body.

48. It can scarcely be necessary to observe, that whatever admiration may be felt for Cleomenes as a Spartan, we are not required to approve either of his political reforms in his own country, or of his mode of acting towards the Achæans. It would be worse than foolish to apply the notions of Spartan equality, and Spartan slavery, to our own country and our own time. Nothing can reconcile us to the passionate revenge which Cleomenes took upon Megalopolis. Our principles as Christians raise us above the stern philosophy of suicides: but it is instructive to observe how closely this young Spartan prince, with all his faults, clung to one object, and with what earnestness and perseverance he made everything give way to that. Now, if we strip that object of all the peculiarity belonging to the country and the age, it was simply this—to train the men of Sparta to what he believed to be their duty. There is no country under heaven to which the principle does not apply. There is no period of time in which this principle can cease to be important. The principle is education. That is the best education which fits the young to fill, with honour and success, the situations in which they may be placed by the providence of God. Education among Christians is laid upon a basis of which Cleomenes knew nothing. It trains the young to self-restraint, accustoms them to diligence, excites them to activity, patience, and perseverance; but it also renders them familiar with Divine

truths, keeps before them a perfect example, and reminds them that not in their own strength, but by the grace of God, they may hope to succeed.

49. We see here how great the power of mothers is. Few men of eminence have failed to acknowledge this. The iron firmness of the Spartan matron might be best if fighting were man's noblest occupation: but fighting is not the noblest occupation of men, and hardihood is not the highest quality of either men or women. Strength of mind should be cultivated by daughters, sisters, wives, and mothers. Whatever enfeebles the health is likely to be injurious to the female character. A woman may be tender without being morbid; and her affection is not blunted but rather heightened by its union with good sense. Men are often what women make them; women are what men encourage them to be. No woman can be injured by intelligence, firmness, and high principle. No friend of woman, or of the human race, would wish to see her shrink from the avowal of truth, or from offices of piety; but home is her empire. In the continual dew of her influence there the men of the coming generation imbibe, with the blessing of God, the reverence of truth, religion, and patriotism; and there they are trained to admire what they will have to do when the time comes.

50. The fame of history is filled with exploits of kings and conquerors. These kings would not have enjoyed their glory, nor these conquerors their victories, if it had not been for the passive courage of which scarcely a record is preserved. The dignity with which these widowed exiles abandoned home and friends, that they might serve their country, and the almost awful majesty with which they met a cruel death, are deserving of study. It is well that they should not be forgotten. They remind us of those "women" of whom mention is made in Holy Scripture. We think of female confessors and martyrs in the ancient church, and in ages not so long ago. We think also of many a meek and gentle Christian sufferer who has borne the brunt of private sorrow, and who has died a sacrifice to the sacred obligations of a wife or of a mother. Their tears are treasured by an unseen Hand: their record is on high. Sweet and holy is their memory on earth. He who gave them strength to suffer, and inspired their hearts with

heavenly faith and love, forgets them not. He cheers their dying pillow, and guards their sleeping dust; and, in the great day, he will crown them with the immortal glory which his grace has prepared for them.

51. We owe it to the religion of Jesus Christ, that the elevating and softening influence of female piety has become so active in forming the character of individuals, of families, and of nations. By giving to woman her proper place in the domestic circle, the more violent passions of man's fallen nature have been assuaged: home, with its gentle attractions, and lasting endearments, has been created: religion claims it as her own. Here the infant is taught to lisp the name of Him who takes the little children to his bosom. Here the fierce animosities, the burning pride, the terrible revenge of man give way to the subduing voice of love—the love of mothers, wives, daughters, sisters, who sit at the feet of Jesus, and who imbibe his Spirit. We are taught not to crouch, but to forbear and to forgive; not to desert freedom, but to love order; not to approve of cruelty and oppression, but to subdue them by meekness; not to die in proud and petulant impatience, but to wait on God, to trust his providence, and, by his grace, to work our way through all the ills of life. These are the lessons which are taught at the firesides of our Christian homes. By such lessons we are raised to more than Spartan dignity, and we meet disappointment and death with hopes of which the philosophers, heroes, kings, and nations of Greece never dreamed.

LIFE OF PHILOPŒMEN.

B. C. 682.

1. THERE was at Mantinæa a man named Cassander, one of the most honourable and powerful of her citizens, who, having met with some calamity which forced him to leave his home, went to settle at Megalopolis, another city of

Arcadia. His chief motive for going thither was his friendship for Craugis, a man of great esteem, the father of Philopœmen. While Craugis lived Cassander shared his fortune, and after his death he repaid his generous hospitality by bringing up his orphan son, as Homer says that Achilles was brought up by Phœnix.

2. Cassander applied himself at once to form the manners of Philopœmen, and he gave him from his childhood a truly noble and royal education. His earliest teachers were Ecdemus and Demophanes, of Megalopolis, who excelled all the teachers of their time in applying the philosophy of the Academy to the practical affairs of life and government. These philosophers had acquired fame by delivering their country from the tyranny of Aristodemus, by aiding Aratus in expelling the tyrant of Sicyon, and by settling the disordered government of Cyrene on the foundation of wise and good laws; but they held it to be their noblest deed and highest honour that, in educating Philopœmen, they had been able by the teaching of philosophy, as they believed, to render him a blessing to all Greece. As mothers are said to have a special fondness for their youngest children, so Greece loved Philopœmen as the son of her advanced age, coming last in a line of illustrious generals, and she added to his power as he grew in reputation. A Roman called him "the last of the Greeks," for after him his country produced no man worthy of her.

3. Philopœmen was not of unsightly visage, as some have represented. The story of his adventures at Megara is explained by the homeliness, not of his appearance, but of his garb. A woman of Megara being told that the general of the Greeks was coming to her house, set about with great care to make ready his supper, her husband happening at the time to be from home. Philopœmen arrived, wrapped in a very plain cloak. The woman took him for one of his servants who had come to prepare his lodging, and asked him to help her in cooking. Philopœmen forthwith laid aside his cloak, and began to chop some wood. The husband at length returned, and seeing Philopœmen, whom he knew, thus employed, said, with surprise, "What are you about, Philopœmen?" "Only bearing the punishment of my mean appearance," was the reply. Though he took Epaminondas for his model,

and imitated him in the deliberateness of his resolution, his activity, daring, and disinterestedness, yet he was more a warrior than a statesman, and came far short of Epaminondas in the mildness and patience with which he managed political disputes. From his infancy his whole delight was in soldiers, and he never willingly performed any exercises but such as managing a horse, or hurling a spear. As he seemed to be well formed for wrestling, his friends and his teachers exhorted him to use that kind of exercise. He asked them if the practice of a wrestler would not unfit him for being a soldier. They replied truly that there was a total difference between the two. Philopœmen, therefore, not only abandoned wrestling, but derided it; and, after he became a general in the army, he treated it with contempt, as unfitting men for the real conflicts of war.

4. When he became free from the government of masters, he joined the troops which were sent from Megalopolis to carry away the flocks and slaves from Laconia, always being the first to depart on these expeditions, and the last to return. At times, when he was at leisure from the campaigns of war, he improved the agility of his body by hunting, or by going after dinner or supper to his estate, two or three miles from the city. At night he lay, like one of his slaves, on a common straw bed, and at break of day he went out to labour with his vine-dressers, or to plough. After these early labours, he returned to the city, and took part in the public business. What wealth he gained by war, he laid out on horses, on arms, or in ransoming such of his fellow-citizens as had been taken captive. He improved his estate by the labours of agriculture; nor did he apply himself to these labours merely for diversion, but in good earnest, well persuaded that the only way of keeping his hands off other men's property was to busy himself in attending to his own.

5. Philopœmen was not inattentive to the discourses and treatises of philosophers; but he confined himself to those which might further his progress in military skill. Of all the grand ideas of Homer, he retained only such as stimulated his courage, and prompted him to feats of valour. Of other books his favourites were, the Tactics of Evangelus, and the histories of Alexander the Great; for he considered

that learning should lead to action, and not be a mere amusement, ending only in talk. In studying the Tactics he was not content with reading precepts; instead of consulting diagrams, he applied the rules in the open field. In all his marches, he closely observed the nature of the ground over which he passed, and the manner in which the difficulties of each place would require an army to be drawn up; and, after reflecting on these things, he would point them out to those who accompanied him. He had a strong propensity for arms. He embraced war as the only profession that became a man, and he regarded all who did not engage in it as vile and useless persons.

6. Philopœmen was in his thirtieth year when Cleomenes, king of Sparta, fell on Megalopolis in the night, forced the guards, penetrated to the heart of the city, and set up his standard in the Public Place. On that occasion Philopœmen rushed to the help of his fellow-citizens. He could not drive out the enemy, though he fought with the greatest bravery, exposing his life without any caution. By drawing Cleomenes towards himself, and keeping up a long and spirited resistance, he afforded the citizens time to save themselves by leaving the place, himself being the last to retire, covered with wounds, and after having his horse killed under him. When the Megalopolitans had reached Messene, Cleomenes sent to them, offering to restore their city and all their possessions. Philopœmen saw that this offer was acceptable to his fellow-citizens, who were anxious to return to their homes; but he set himself strongly against it, showing them that Cleomenes only wanted to become master of their persons, and that, if they refused, he would not long remain to guard the walls and houses of a deserted city. By these remonstrances he prevailed, giving Cleomenes a pretext for ruining great part of the city, and marching home laden with plunder.

7. Some months after the sacking of Megalopolis, Antigonus joined the Achæans against Cleomenes. As Cleomenes held the heights of Sellasia, and all the passes, Antigonus drew up his army to force him from his post. Philopœmen was in the cavalry of Antigonus, supported by the Illyrians, who formed that wing of the army. They had been ordered to remain still, until a signal was given

by a purple vest on a spear from the other wing, where Antigonus commanded; but their officers, impatient to attack the Spartans who were opposite to them, broke in upon them, while the cavalry, obedient to order, remained still. Euclidas, Cleomenes' brother, who commanded the Spartans in that quarter, learned that the Illyrians were advancing, though they were not supported by the cavalry, and he quickly dispatched the most lightly-armed of his infantry to attack them from behind, while they were separated from the main body. Philopœmen saw the Illyrian infantry thrown into confusion by this movement, and he told the king's officers that it would not be difficult to drive off that light-armed party; but they treated him as a visionary, for his reputation was not so high as to authorize him to propose so important a manœuvre. Philopœmen, nevertheless, was not to be repressed, but, leading on his fellow-citizens, he attacked the Spartan infantry, and dispersed them with terrible slaughter. Not content with this, but wishing to animate the king's forces, and to reach the enemy on the heights of the mountain, before they could recover from the confusion into which they were thrown by the defeat of their light-armed infantry, he dismounted, and, burdened as he was with his heavy armour, he pushed his way along the rough road, interrupted by torrents and marshes. While fighting under these disadvantages with amazing courage, he was wounded by a javelin, which passed through both his thighs. The wound, though not mortal, was severe. Stopped by this stroke, as if his legs were fettered, he knew not at first how to proceed, for the thong attached to the javelin gave him so much pain in attempting to draw it out, that his attendants were afraid to touch it. Seeing that the combat, which had now become furious, could not last long, in his eagerness to mingle in the fray he succeeded, by violent and torturing efforts, to move his legs, in breaking the javelin, and then he ordered the fragments to be drawn from his limbs. Thus free to move, he led his troops into the midst of the enemy, and so inflamed the courage of his men by his own example, that they dashed through every obstacle, and reached the mountain-top. Antigonus gained the victory. To test the Macedonians he demanded, in pretended displeasure, why they had disobeyed their orders

in charging before the signal was given. They answered that they had been forced to it by the eagerness of a young Megalopolitan. Antigonus smiled, and said,—"That young Megalopolitan has done the work of an experienced commander."

8. From this time, Philopœmen rose to a high place in the confidence of Antigonus. He offered him large pay, and an important command in his army, if he would join his service. Philopœmen refused these offers, knowing that his disposition was too impetuous and independent to submit to the authority of a foreign prince. But, unwilling to be idle, yet ambitious of perfecting himself in the art of war, he passed over to Crete, where he heard that active operations were going on. After a long service among the Cretans, who were distinguished for their skill, experience, and severe discipline, he returned to Achaia with so much reputation, that he was at once chosen general of the cavalry. His first employment was to examine the state of his troops. He found that they were wretchedly mounted on horses picked up by chance; that the greater part of them never went out to battle, but sent others in their place; and that they were so deficient in exercise and in knowledge of their military duties, that they were afraid of actual service. Former generals had connived at these defects from the fear of losing their appointments; for among the Achæans, the greatest influence was in the hands of those who formed these troops of horse. But Philopœmen could neither conceal his opinions, nor yield to such relaxation of discipline. He went from town to town, privately exhorting the young men, stimulating them with the love of martial glory, punishing the languid, training them to frequent exercise, and holding reviews in places where there were great crowds of spectators. By these means, he soon brought them into so vigorous and alert a condition that all their movements were compared to those of a single body animated by a free spirit.

9. In the great battle between the Achæans and the Æolians and Eleans, near the Larissus, Demophantus, the Elean general of cavalry, rushed forwards from the ranks against Philopœmen. Philopœmen stood firmly; and, with a thrust of his lance, he unhorsed and killed Demophantus. When

their general had fallen, the Elians fled from the field. By this action, Philopœmen gained such honour, that all acknowledged he had no superior either in bravery or prudence, but was equally fitted for either personal combat, or the command of armies. Aratus, was indeed the first that exalted the Achæans to the high degree of power to which they had attained; for before his time, they were weakened by divisions, each town acting separately for itself; but he established among them a truly Grecian government, of unity and friendship. As a few small substances, stopping in a stream, are soon joined by others into a solid body, so it happened to Greece. So long as she was split into separate communities she was feeble, and easily broken; but the Achæans were the first to stop, like the small substances in the stream, and gradually drew after them the neighbouring states, helping some of them to get rid of tyrants, and alluring others by the advantages which their union offered. By such means, they hoped to form the whole Peloponnesus into one power which nothing could resist. While Aratus lived, his cities submitted to the arms of Macedonia, and paid their court to Ptolemy, Antigonus, and Philip, who meddled in all the affairs of Greece; but from the time when Philopœmen took the reins of government, the Achæans felt themselves strong enough to assert their independence of all foreign authority. Aratus owed his success to his affability and suavity, and his friendship with kings; Philopœmen, on the contrary, was a bold, active, and successful man of war, who taught the Achæans to conquer, and inspired them with sentiments that were suited to their increasing importance among the Greeks.

10. Philopœmen made a great change in the mode of warfare, and in the arms of the Achæans. Hitherto they had carried very light shields, because they were managed with ease; but they were too small to protect the body. Their spears, too, were much shorter than those of the Macedonians, and of little use in close fighting. They had not been accustomed to the Macedonian order of battle, but to the square battalion, which, for want of a front presenting numerous spears, and of the art of making a rampart of united shields, as in the Macedonian phalanx, was easily broken. Philopœmen changed all this. He introduced broad shields, and

long spears; helmets and cuirasses; and, instead of running and leaping, he trained them to fight with a firm footing, and a strong step. He armed all the youth that were of a fit age. His first object was, to make them feel themselves to be invincible: his next, to moderate their excessive love of costly luxury. He could not root out this passion all at once. They had been accustomed to lavish their wealth on superb clothes and furniture; but Philopœmen persuaded them to cultivate this splendour in arms and accoutrements. Before long, the vessels of gold and silver were broken up into ornaments for breastplates, shields, and bridles; and the young men were seen training their horses, and exercising their arms, on the parade. Nothing could be seen in the hands of the women but embroidery for the crests and garments of the soldiers. By the very sight of these things their courage was roused; they were enamoured of danger, and burned to cover themselves with military honours. Other kinds of luxury enfeeble and soften men's minds, but the magnificence of war was prized by the Greeks as strengthening and elevating the qualities to which they were taught to attach the highest glory. Thus Homer paints Achilles, when his mother places at his feet the beautiful new armour she had brought him; as soon as he saw it, he was fired with impatience to try it in the battle.

11. When Philopœmen had accustomed the young Achæans to adorn themselves in glittering armour, they came cheerfully to exercise, striving to excel each other in the ease and rapidity of their evolutions. They were marvellously pleased with the new form of the phalanx, whose serried ranks it is so difficult to break. By use their arms became easier and lighter, because they wore them with pride on account of their beauty, and they longed to try them on their enemies.

12. The Achæans were now at war with Machanidas, tyrant of Sparta, who, at the head of a powerful army, was watching for an opportunity to subdue the whole Peloponnesus. When tidings came that he had arrived at Mantinæa, Philopœmen went out at the head of his troops, to meet him. Both armies having the whole of their respective forces, besides large bodies of hired soldiers, were drawn up near the city. At the beginning of the battle,

the Tarentine spearmen were put to flight by Machanidas, with his hired soldiers; yet, instead of immediately attacking the remaining portion of the Achæan army, he pursued the fugitives, leaving the main body of his own army uncovered. When Philopœmen saw this mistake, he suffered them to go a considerable distance, and then fell upon the unprotected Spartan infantry, when they imagined that they had gained the victory, because Machanidas was in pursuit of a flying enemy. Having slain four thousand of the infantry, Philopœmen went to intercept Machanidas as he returned. Between them was a deep ditch. Philopœmen was like a hunter trying to prevent the escape of a wild beast. The tyrant's strong and fiery horse, bleeding on both sides from the spurs, was about to spring across the ditch, when Simmius and Polyænus, Philopœmen's constant attendants, both ran, with their spears levelled; but Philopœmen had the start of them, and turning his own horse a little aside, by the force of his own spear sent the body of Machanidas rolling into the ditch. The Achæans testified their admiration of this action, and of Philopœmen's conduct in the battle, by placing his statue made of bronze in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, in the attitude of killing the Spartan tyrant.

13. A short time after this celebrated battle at Mantinæa, Philopœmen, who had been appointed general of the Achæans for the second time, was present at the Nemean Games, where, we are told, he availed himself of the leisure of that festival to make his new phalanx pass in review before the great assembly of the Greeks, clothed in their most magnificent apparel, and displaying all their movements with the utmost order. After this, he entered the theatre where the musicians were contending for the prize, accompanied by his young men, in the flower of their age, nobly formed, showing all respect for their leader, each of them a warrior elevated by the recollection of many famous combats. At the moment of their entrance, Pylades, accompanying with his lyre the Persæ of Timotheus, was singing the first verse: "He has crowned the heads of the Greeks with the flowers of liberty." The majesty of the verse, admirably sustained by the beautiful voice of the singer, struck the whole assembly, and from all quarters they turned to Philopœmen with clapping of hands, and

shouts of joy, recalling to mind the ancient reputation of their country, and believing that they had reached the same degree of magnanimity by the confidence which was inspired by courage.

14. Like young horses, that submit to their own riders but become wild and unmanageable to the hand of strangers, the Achæans lost their courage when other generals commanded them, and turned their eyes to Philopœmen; when he appeared, their strength revived, because of their reliance on his bravery and caution, knowing as they did, that it was he alone of all the Greeks, whom their enemies dared not face, and at whose name they trembled.

15. Philip of Macedon, persuaded that if he could defeat Philopœmen all the Achæans would again submit to him, sent men secretly to Argos to assassinate him. But the plot was discovered; and Philip became the object of hatred and contempt to all the Greeks.

16. The Bœotians were besieging Megara, and were on the point of taking the place when a report was spread that Philopœmen was coming to the help of the besieged. At this report, though it was false, the Bœotians left their scaling ladders planted against the walls, and betook themselves to flight.

17. Nabis, the successor of Machanidas as tyrant of Sparta, having taken Messene by surprise, Philopœmen, then only a private man without office or authority, endeavoured to engage Lysippus, the Achæan general, to go to the succour of the Messenians. Lysippus, unwilling to go, always said that there was no hope for the place, as the enemy was in possession of it. Philopœmen marched to Messene with only his own citizens, who, waiting for no decree or appointment, followed him by that feeling which prompted them to obey him only who they considered was worthy to command. He had no sooner reached the neighbourhood of Messene than Nabis, informed of his approach, remained no longer, though he had all his troops in the city, but departing from the opposite gate, led away his army, thinking himself happy in being able to escape. Thus Messene was delivered.

18. We have seen the fair side of the conduct of Philopœmen. His second voyage to Crete, at the invitation of the Gortynians, has been condemned as either a cowardly

heavenly faith and love, forgets them not. He cheers their dying pillow, and guards their sleeping dust; and, in the great day, he will crown them with the immortal glory which his grace has prepared for them.

51. We owe it to the religion of Jesus Christ, that the elevating and softening influence of female piety has become so active in forming the character of individuals, of families, and of nations. By giving to woman her proper place in the domestic circle, the more violent passions of man's fallen nature have been assuaged: home, with its gentle attractions, and lasting endearments, has been created: religion claims it as her own. Here the infant is taught to lisp the name of Him who takes the little children to his bosom. Here the fierce animosities, the burning pride, the terrible revenge of man give way to the subduing voice of love—the love of mothers, wives, daughters, sisters, who sit at the feet of Jesus, and who imbibe his Spirit. We are taught not to crouch, but to forbear and to forgive; not to desert freedom, but to love order; not to approve of cruelty and oppression, but to subdue them by meekness; not to die in proud and petulant impatience, but to wait on God, to trust his providence, and, by his grace, to work our way through all the ills of life. These are the lessons which are taught at the firesides of our Christian homes. By such lessons we are raised to more than Spartan dignity, and we meet disappointment and death with hopes of which the philosophers, heroes, kings, and nations of Greece never dreamed.

LIFE OF PHILOPŒMEN.

B. C. 682.

1. THERE was at Mantinæa a man named Cassander, one of the most honourable and powerful of her citizens, who, having met with some calamity which forced him to leave his home, went to settle at Megalopolis, another city of

Arcadia. His chief motive for going thither was his friendship for Craugis, a man of great esteem, the father of Philopœmen. While Craugis lived Cassander shared his fortune, and after his death he repaid his generous hospitality by bringing up his orphan son, as Homer says that Achilles was brought up by Phœnix.

2. Cassander applied himself at once to form the manners of Philopœmen, and he gave him from his childhood a truly noble and royal education. His earliest teachers were Ecdemus and Demophanes, of Megalopolis, who excelled all the teachers of their time in applying the philosophy of the Academy to the practical affairs of life and government. These philosophers had acquired fame by delivering their country from the tyranny of Aristodemus, by aiding Aratus in expelling the tyrant of Sicyon, and by settling the disordered government of Cyrene on the foundation of wise and good laws; but they held it to be their noblest deed and highest honour that, in educating Philopœmen, they had been able by the teaching of philosophy, as they believed, to render him a blessing to all Greece. As mothers are said to have a special fondness for their youngest children, so Greece loved Philopœmen as the son of her advanced age, coming last in a line of illustrious generals, and she added to his power as he grew in reputation. A Roman called him "the last of the Greeks," for after him his country produced no man worthy of her.

3. Philopœmen was not of unsightly visage, as some have represented. The story of his adventures at Megara is explained by the homeliness, not of his appearance, but of his garb. A woman of Megara being told that the general of the Greeks was coming to her house, set about with great care to make ready his supper, her husband happening at the time to be from home. Philopœmen arrived, wrapped in a very plain cloak. The woman took him for one of his servants who had come to prepare his lodging, and asked him to help her in cooking. Philopœmen forthwith laid aside his cloak, and began to chop some wood. The husband at length returned, and seeing Philopœmen, whom he knew, thus employed, said, with surprise, "What are you about, Philopœmen?" "Only bearing the punishment of my mean appearance," was the reply. Though he took Epaminondas for his model,

on Timolaus, who had been his host. Timolaus was received with marked attention by Philopœmen at Megalopolis. When he witnessed there the gravity of Philopœmen's conversation, his frugality, his strict manners, which raised him above the temptations of money, he was so struck, that he dared not open his mouth on the subject of the present, but made some other pretext for having visited him, and returned as he went. He was sent a second time, but was still silent. At last, on a third embassy, he ventured, with much hesitation, to tell Philopœmen of the good-will of the Spartans towards him. Philopœmen listened to him with pleasure; but he went himself immediately to Sparta, and advised the Spartans not to spend their money in gaining and corrupting their friends, because they were always sure of them; but in silencing the wicked men who opposed the government by their turbulence and sedition: "For," he said, "it is better to shut the mouths of your enemies than of your friends."

24. Diophanes, the general of the Achæans, hearing that the Spartans wished to abandon the League, prepared to punish them; and they, on their part, stirred up the whole Peloponnesus by their preparations to resist him. Philopœmen sought to appease the anger of Diophanes, by saying to him, "While Antiochus and the Dorians are carrying on war in the midst of Greece, it becomes the Achæan general to keep his eye on them; this, therefore, is no time for a war among Greeks, but rather for passing by the faults of our own countrymen." Diophanes gave no heed to the remonstrance of Philopœmen. He entered Laconia with Flamininus, and advanced with him towards Sparta. Philopœmen, provoked that his advice was not followed, ventured on an action which cannot be praised as either good or just, though it discovered amazing boldness. Though but a private man, he threw himself into Sparta, closed the gates against the Achæans and the Romans, quelled the distractions of the citizens, and brought them back to the Achæan League.

25. It was not long after this that Philopœmen was again chosen to be the general of the League. Having some causes of complaint against the Spartans, he compelled them to recall their exiles; put eighty, or, according to Aristocrates, a hundred and fifty of their citizens

to death, for having banished the exiles; razed their walls; deprived them of a great part of their lands, which he added to those of his own city; transferred to Achaia all whom the tyrants had enfranchised in Sparta, except about three thousand, who would not leave the city, and these he sold, building with the purchase-money a magnificent portico at Megalopolis, as if to insult the Spartans, by branding them with public and lasting disgrace. To gratify his resentment against a people who had already suffered so much, he inflicted on their government the most cruel injustice. He abolished all the institutions of Lycurgus, and forced the Spartans to educate their children like those of Achaia; for he saw, that while they continued to observe their ancient laws and customs, they would always retain an independent spirit. In that time of humiliation and calamity, in which the sinews of their republic were cut by Philopœmen, they bowed their neck to the yoke. But, in a few years, they obtained permission from the Romans to restore their ancient institutions, and brought their city back as near as possible to its former condition.

26. While the war raged between Antiochus and the Romans in Greece, Philopœmen was in a private station. Seeing that Antiochus, who wintered at Chalcis, passed his time in the celebration of his marriage, and that the Syrians, living in the utmost licentiousness, without officers or discipline, were committing a thousand disorders in all the cities among which they were dispersed, he lamented that he had not the command of the Achæan forces. He envied the Romans the easy victory that was at hand. When they had overcome Antiochus, their power in Greece was gradually extended within the bounds of the Achæan League, and a powerful party in their interest was kept up by the orators and governors of the different cities. Philopœmen watched their proceedings, as a good pilot watches the winds and waves, sometimes yielding, and sometimes resisting, but overlooking no means by which to secure the most influential and most eloquent of the Greeks on the side of their country's liberty. Aristænetus, of Megalopolis, a man of much credit with the Achæans, and strongly disposed to pay court to the Romans, was his opponent. One day, Aristænetus said, in the council of

the League, that the Achæans ought not to oppose the Romans, or to show themselves ungrateful to them. For some time, Philopœmen restrained himself; but, at last, he cried out aloud, "Why are you so impatient for the miserable end of Greece?"

27. When Manius Acilius, the Roman consul, had defeated Antiochus, he demanded of the Achæans that the Spartan exiles should be recalled. The proposal was supported by Flamininus. Philopœmen opposed it, not from enmity to the exiles, but because he wished that they should owe their restoration to himself and the Achæans, not to Flamininus and the Romans; for, in the following year, when he was chosen general, he himself recalled these exiles.

28. Philopœmen was seventy years old, when, for the eighth time, he became the general of the Achæans. He hoped not only to pass that year without war, but to give the remainder of his days to repose. In a public assembly, some persons praised a certain man as a great general; Philopœmen said, "What account do you make of a man, who, with arms in his hands, suffers himself to be taken alive by his enemies?" But a few days after Philopœmen had made this speech, Dinocrates the Messenian, a special enemy of Philopœmen, and a man hated throughout Greece for his wickedness, withdrew Messene from the Achæan League, and was on the point of seizing Coronis, a post of some strength in the neighbourhood of that city. Philopœmen was then at Argos, sick of a fever; but as soon as he heard of the conduct of Dinocrates, he hastened to Megalopolis, and drawing round him the young men on horseback, marched straight towards Messene, met with Dinocrates, and put him to flight; but five hundred cavalry, that guarded the level country of Messene, came up suddenly, and, joined by the defeated followers of Dinocrates, occupied all the heights. Philopœmen, fearful of being surrounded, and concerned for the safety of his brave companions, retreated upon the roughest ground, often turning round to invite the attacks of the pursuers on himself, but none of them venturing to approach him, they contented themselves with hovering round him at a distance. At last, he was alone. Still they were afraid to come close to him, but by their darts they drove him to the rocky pre-

cipices, where he could scarcely find footing for his horse. His age had not impaired his vigour; yet, weakened by his malady, and exhausted by his long journey, he was thrown from his horse among the stones, and being severely wounded in his head, he remained speechless, and without motion on the spot. His enemies believed that he was dead, and were approaching to rifle his person, but seeing him open his eyes, they crowded round him, bound his hands behind him, and led him in chains to Messene. This celebrated man suffered outrages which neither he nor his enemies could have imagined that he should ever receive from Dinocrates.

29. When the Messenians heard that Philopœmen was coming to their city as a prisoner they were transported with joy, and flocked to all the gates; but when they saw him dragged along in a manner which they deemed so unworthy of his dignity and his conquests, they were touched with pity, and they deplored in tears the vanity of human greatness. They began to talk of the benefits he had conferred on Achaia, and to excite in each other the remembrance of what he had done in destroying the power of Nabis. Some indeed there were, though few in number, who sought the favour of Dinocrates by demanding that Philopœmen should be tortured to death as a dangerous enemy, who, if he escaped, would never forgive the indignities that had been heaped upon him. He was conducted to a cave under ground, without light or air, and closed by rolling a great stone to the opening, instead of a door, where he was guarded by soldiers.

30. The young horsemen of Megalopolis, halting in their flight, discovered that Philopœmen was not among them. They called his name, and sought him in all directions, but in vain. They blamed themselves as saving their own lives at the expense of his. As soon as they had learned his fate, they spread the news through all the cities of Achaia. The Achæans looked on his capture as a public calamity, sent ambassadors to the Messenians to demand his liberation, and made diligent preparations for war with them if they refused. Dinocrates, fearing that Philopœmen might be saved, went that night to the cave, and sent down an executioner with poison, ordering him to stay there till the prisoner had taken it. When the executioner went

down, Philopœmen lay sleepless on his cloak, filled with grief and sadness. As soon as he saw the light, and the man with the poison-cup in his hand, he rose with difficulty, took the cup, and asked the executioner if he could tell him anything about his troop, especially of Lycortas. The man told him he had heard that they were all safe. Philopœmen thanked him by bowing his head, and looking benignly at him said,—"Thou bringest me good news; we are not then entirely ruined;" and without another word or a sigh he took the poison, and wrapped himself in his cloak. He was so weak that his life was extinct in a moment.

31. The report of Philopœmen's death spread among the Achæans, filling their cities with inexpressible sorrow. The young men of age to bear arms, and the magistrates, held a council at Megalopolis, resolved, without the loss of a moment, to avenge his death, and marched, under Lycortas as their general, with fire and sword to Messene. The affrighted Messenians opened their gates. Dinocrates escaped the punishment which awaited him by killing himself; and his example was followed by all who had advised the death of Philopœmen. Lycortas apprehended all those who would have condemned Philopœmen to torture, and ordered them to be tormented to death.

32. Having burned the body of Philopœmen, they laid up the ashes in an urn, and marched back to Megalopolis, with the solemnity of a funeral, and the pomp of a triumph. The infantry walked with crowns on their heads, and wept. They were followed by their enemies in chains. The general's son, Polybius, carried the urn, attended by the Achæan nobles. Then followed the cavalry, superbly mounted. The inhabitants of the towns and villages through which they passed came out, as in former times they had honoured Philopœmen when he returned from victory, and having touched the urn with reverence, they followed in the train. The prodigious number of men and women, of old men and children, that joined the procession, raised a cry so piercing that it reached from the army to the city of Megalopolis. The city responded in groans, bitterly lamenting the death of that great man as the loss of all her own pre-eminence and authority among the Achæans.

33. Philopœmen's remains were interred with every mark of honour: the prisoners from Messene were, in the dread spirit of heathenism, stoned to death around his tomb. The cities decreed statues with magnificent inscriptions to his memory. Many years after, in the time of the calamities of Greece, when Corinth was burned by the proconsul Mummius, a Roman accuser charged Philopœmen, as if he had been alive, with being a constant enemy to the Romans; and he proposed that his statue should be thrown down. But the charges were refuted by Polybius. Neither Mummius nor his officers would consent to destroy the monuments of so eminent a man, though he had opposed Flamininus and Acilius; they were persuaded that all men should honour the memory of a patriot and a hero.

34. Happily for mankind, the excessive admiration of military talents which filled the ancient world, has gradually passed away. We have other and higher standards by which to judge men; promptitude, energy, decision, and noble disinterestedness, have found other fields than those of blood. We may cherish these dispositions now, without injuring the bodies, or the property, of our fellow-men. Thus it is in our power to turn this beautiful narrative of Plutarch to a higher account than he did. The young may learn from Philopœmen to exercise themselves in those habits of mind and body which will prepare them to serve their country and their generation according to the will of God. Usefulness should be our great object. There are a thousand ways in which we may aim at this. They who are on the look-out for opportunities of doing good will seldom be at a loss. Every kind of talent may be employed in the service of benevolence; and every day will bring new calls, or enforce more strongly those which are old. It belongs to Christians to league together for the common benefit of the human race. So long as one mind remains unenlightened, or one heart unrenewed, or one family sunk in grief, or one nation oppressed by superstition or slavery, there is ample scope for the wisdom and the zeal of the intelligent and pious. Nor will survivors readily forget those who have led such noble enterprises, when their work is finished. The best monument of the dead is the imitation of the living. We honour our fathers by walking in their steps. Thus, being dead, they yet

speak, not in the cold marble, and the eloquent inscription, but in the burning words, and holy deeds, of their successors. It is well to light our torch, so to speak, at the funeral flame of the departed; and to sacrifice our enmities, to renew our devotion, around their sepulchres. Thus may the memory of the heroes of truth and love be preserved, as a precious treasure, and a holy stimulus, for all time to come.

Religious Tract Society, Paternoster-row.

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on Timolaus, who had been his host. Timolaus was received with marked attention by Philopœmen at Megalopolis. When he witnessed there the gravity of Philopœmen's conversation, his frugality, his strict manners, which raised him above the temptations of money, he was so struck, that he dared not open his mouth on the subject of the present, but made some other pretext for having visited him, and returned as he went. He was sent a second time, but was still silent. At last, on a third embassy, he ventured, with much hesitation, to tell Philopœmen of the good-will of the Spartans towards him. Philopœmen listened to him with pleasure; but he went himself immediately to Sparta, and advised the Spartans not to spend their money in gaining and corrupting their friends, because they were always sure of them; but in silencing the wicked men who opposed the government by their turbulence and sedition: "For," he said, "it is better to shut the mouths of your enemies than of your friends."

24. Diophanes, the general of the Achæans, hearing that the Spartans wished to abandon the League, prepared to punish them; and they, on their part, stirred up the whole Peloponnesus by their preparations to resist him. Philopœmen sought to appease the anger of Diophanes, by saying to him, "While Antiochus and the Dorians are carrying on war in the midst of Greece, it becomes the Achæan general to keep his eye on them; this, therefore, is no time for a war among Greeks, but rather for passing by the faults of our own countrymen." Diophanes gave no heed to the remonstrance of Philopœmen. He entered Laconia with Flamininus, and advanced with him towards Sparta. Philopœmen, provoked that his advice was not followed, ventured on an action which cannot be praised as either good or just, though it discovered amazing boldness. Though but a private man, he threw himself into Sparta, closed the gates against the Achæans and the Romans, quelled the distractions of the citizens, and brought them back to the Achæan League.

25. It was not long after this that Philopœmen was again chosen to be the general of the League. Having some causes of complaint against the Spartans, he compelled them to recall their exiles; put eighty, or, according to Aristocrates, a hundred and fifty of their citizens

to death, for having banished the exiles; razed their walls; deprived them of a great part of their lands, which he added to those of his own city; transferred to Achaia all whom the tyrants had enfranchised in Sparta, except about three thousand, who would not leave the city, and these he sold, building with the purchase-money a magnificent portico at Megalopolis, as if to insult the Spartans, by branding them with public and lasting disgrace. To gratify his resentment against a people who had already suffered so much, he inflicted on their government the most cruel injustice. He abolished all the institutions of Lycurgus, and forced the Spartans to educate their children like those of Achaia; for he saw, that while they continued to observe their ancient laws and customs, they would always retain an independent spirit. In that time of humiliation and calamity, in which the sinews of their republic were cut by Philopœmen, they bowed their neck to the yoke. But, in a few years, they obtained permission from the Romans to restore their ancient institutions, and brought their city back as near as possible to its former condition.

26. While the war raged between Antiochus and the Romans in Greece, Philopœmen was in a private station. Seeing that Antiochus, who wintered at Chalcis, passed his time in the celebration of his marriage, and that the Syrians, living in the utmost licentiousness, without officers or discipline, were committing a thousand disorders in all the cities among which they were dispersed, he lamented that he had not the command of the Achæan forces. He envied the Romans the easy victory that was at hand. When they had overcome Antiochus, their power in Greece was gradually extended within the bounds of the Achæan League, and a powerful party in their interest was kept up by the orators and governors of the different cities. Philopœmen watched their proceedings, as a good pilot watches the winds and waves, sometimes yielding, and sometimes resisting, but overlooking no means by which to secure the most influential and most eloquent of the Greeks on the side of their country's liberty. Aristænetus, of Megalopolis, a man of much credit with the Achæans, and strongly disposed to pay court to the Romans, was his opponent. One day, Aristænetus said, in the council of

the League, that the Achæans ought not to oppose the Romans, or to show themselves ungrateful to them. For some time, Philopœmen restrained himself; but, at last, he cried out aloud, "Why are you so impatient for the miserable end of Greece?"

27. When Manius Acilius, the Roman consul, had defeated Antiochus, he demanded of the Achæans that the Spartan exiles should be recalled. The proposal was supported by Flamininus. Philopœmen opposed it, not from enmity to the exiles, but because he wished that they should owe their restoration to himself and the Achæans, not to Flamininus and the Romans; for, in the following year, when he was chosen general, he himself recalled these exiles.

28. Philopœmen was seventy years old, when, for the eighth time, he became the general of the Achæans. He hoped not only to pass that year without war, but to give the remainder of his days to repose. In a public assembly, some persons praised a certain man as a great general; Philopœmen said, "What account do you make of a man, who, with arms in his hands, suffers himself to be taken alive by his enemies?" But a few days after Philopœmen had made this speech, Dinocrates the Messenian, a special enemy of Philopœmen, and a man hated throughout Greece for his wickedness, withdrew Messene from the Achæan League, and was on the point of seizing Coronis, a post of some strength in the neighbourhood of that city. Philopœmen was then at Argos, sick of a fever; but as soon as he heard of the conduct of Dinocrates, he hastened to Megalopolis, and drawing round him the young men on horseback, marched straight towards Messene, met with Dinocrates, and put him to flight; but five hundred cavalry, that guarded the level country of Messene, came up suddenly, and, joined by the defeated followers of Dinocrates, occupied all the heights. Philopœmen, fearful of being surrounded, and concerned for the safety of his brave companions, retreated upon the roughest ground, often turning round to invite the attacks of the pursuers on himself, but none of them venturing to approach him, they contented themselves with hovering round him at a distance. At last, he was alone. Still they were afraid to come close to him, but by their darts they drove him to the rocky pre-

cipices, where he could scarcely find footing for his horse. His age had not impaired his vigour; yet, weakened by his malady, and exhausted by his long journey, he was thrown from his horse among the stones, and being severely wounded in his head, he remained speechless, and without motion on the spot. His enemies believed that he was dead, and were approaching to rifle his person, but seeing him open his eyes, they crowded round him, bound his hands behind him, and led him in chains to Messene. This celebrated man suffered outrages which neither he nor his enemies could have imagined that he should ever receive from Dinocrates.

29. When the Messenians heard that Philopœmen was coming to their city as a prisoner they were transported with joy, and flocked to all the gates; but when they saw him dragged along in a manner which they deemed so unworthy of his dignity and his conquests, they were touched with pity, and they deplored in tears the vanity of human greatness. They began to talk of the benefits he had conferred on Achaia, and to excite in each other the remembrance of what he had done in destroying the power of Nabis. Some indeed there were, though few in number, who sought the favour of Dinocrates by demanding that Philopœmen should be tortured to death as a dangerous enemy, who, if he escaped, would never forgive the indignities that had been heaped upon him. He was conducted to a cave under ground, without light or air, and closed by rolling a great stone to the opening, instead of a door, where he was guarded by soldiers.

30. The young horsemen of Megalopolis, halting in their flight, discovered that Philopœmen was not among them. They called his name, and sought him in all directions, but in vain. They blamed themselves as saving their own lives at the expense of his. As soon as they had learned his fate, they spread the news through all the cities of Achaia. The Achæans looked on his capture as a public calamity, sent ambassadors to the Messenians to demand his liberation, and made diligent preparations for war with them if they refused. Dinocrates, fearing that Philopœmen might be saved, went that night to the cave, and sent down an executioner with poison, ordering him to stay there till the prisoner had taken it. When the executioner went

down, Philopœmen lay sleepless on his cloak, filled with grief and sadness. As soon as he saw the light, and the man with the poison-cup in his hand, he rose with difficulty, took the cup, and asked the executioner if he could tell him anything about his troop, especially of Lycortas. The man told him he had heard that they were all safe. Philopœmen thanked him by bowing his head, and looking benignly at him said,—"Thou bringest me good news; we are not then entirely ruined;" and without another word or a sigh he took the poison, and wrapped himself in his cloak. He was so weak that his life was extinct in a moment.

31. The report of Philopœmen's death spread among the Achæans, filling their cities with inexpressible sorrow. The young men of age to bear arms, and the magistrates, held a council at Megalopolis, resolved, without the loss of a moment, to avenge his death, and marched, under Lycortas as their general, with fire and sword to Messene. The affrighted Messenians opened their gates. Dinocrates escaped the punishment which awaited him by killing himself; and his example was followed by all who had advised the death of Philopœmen. Lycortas apprehended all those who would have condemned Philopœmen to torture, and ordered them to be tormented to death.

32. Having burned the body of Philopœmen, they laid up the ashes in an urn, and marched back to Megalopolis, with the solemnity of a funeral, and the pomp of a triumph. The infantry walked with crowns on their heads, and wept. They were followed by their enemies in chains. The general's son, Polybius, carried the urn, attended by the Achæan nobles. Then followed the cavalry, superbly mounted. The inhabitants of the towns and villages through which they passed came out, as in former times they had honoured Philopœmen when he returned from victory, and having touched the urn with reverence, they followed in the train. The prodigious number of men and women, of old men and children, that joined the procession, raised a cry so piercing that it reached from the army to the city of Megalopolis. The city responded in groans, bitterly lamenting the death of that great man as the loss of all her own pre-eminence and authority among the *Achæans.*

33. Philopœmen's remains were interred with every mark of honour: the prisoners from Messene were, in the dread spirit of heathenism, stoned to death around his tomb. The cities decreed statues with magnificent inscriptions to his memory. Many years after, in the time of the calamities of Greece, when Corinth was burned by the proconsul Mummius, a Roman accuser charged Philopœmen, as if he had been alive, with being a constant enemy to the Romans; and he proposed that his statue should be thrown down. But the charges were refuted by Polybius. Neither Mummius nor his officers would consent to destroy the monuments of so eminent a man, though he had opposed Flamininus and Acilius; they were persuaded that all men should honour the memory of a patriot and a hero.

34. Happily for mankind, the excessive admiration of military talents which filled the ancient world, has gradually passed away. We have other and higher standards by which to judge men; promptitude, energy, decision, and noble disinterestedness, have found other fields than those of blood. We may cherish these dispositions now, without injuring the bodies, or the property, of our fellow-men. Thus it is in our power to turn this beautiful narrative of Plutarch to a higher account than he did. The young may learn from Philopœmen to exercise themselves in those habits of mind and body which will prepare them to serve their country and their generation according to the will of God. Usefulness should be our great object. There are a thousand ways in which we may aim at this. They who are on the look-out for opportunities of doing good will seldom be at a loss. Every kind of talent may be employed in the service of benevolence; and every day will bring new calls, or enforce more strongly those which are old. It belongs to Christians to league together for the common benefit of the human race. So long as one mind remains unenlightened, or one heart unrenewed, or one family sunk in grief, or one nation oppressed by superstition or slavery, there is ample scope for the wisdom and the zeal of the intelligent and pious. Nor will survivors readily forget those who have led such noble enterprises, when their work is finished. The best monument of the dead is the imitation of the living. We honour our fathers by walking in their steps. Thus, being dead, they yet

speak, not in the cold marble, and the eloquent inscription, but in the burning words, and holy deeds, of their successors. It is well to light our torch, so to speak, at the funeral flame of the departed; and to sacrifice our enmities, to renew our devotion, around their sepulchres. Thus may the memory of the heroes of truth and love be preserved, as a precious treasure, and a holy stimulus, for all time to come.

Religious Tract Society, Paternoster-row.

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